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## AGRICULTURE IN THE RED RIVER COLONY

THE Red River troubles of 1869-70 have usually been explained as a result of the impact of external forces on an isolated and primitive society. That the forward movement of the Canadian-American frontier in the eighteen-sixties and the sudden intrusion of Canadian political and religious issues precipitated those troubles has been demonstrated by Professors Martin, Morton, and Stanley.<sup>1</sup> That internal causes of disintegration were also at work is perhaps an hypothesis which invites further examination.

The proposition is here advanced that by 1870 the three customary sources of food in Red River—the buffalo hunt, the fisheries, and agriculture<sup>2</sup>—were in a critical condition. They could no longer feed the native population in exceptionally bad times, as had been demonstrated in the “grasshopper year” of 1868, when everyone experienced distress.<sup>3</sup> In good years they were not capable of supplying the needs of any considerable addition to the population, or of furnishing any sizable export surplus. Nor did the future promise better times; the hunt was approaching its end with the extermination of the buffalo herds, and agriculture was incapable of expansion within the established framework of Red River farming. If this proposition should prove reasonably demonstrable, it would further appear that a crisis in the affairs of Red River was rapidly approaching in the eighteen-sixties, and would have occurred even if there had been no land rush to destroy the old order.

It is first to be noted that of the three sources of food, two—the buffalo hunt and the fisheries—belonged to the nomadic hunting economy of the fur trade. They were organized developments of the fur traders’ practice of employing hunters to bring in game. These food supplies, in the nature of things, could support only a scanty population.<sup>4</sup> The third, agriculture, was the beginning of a new, sedentary economy. Selkirk’s settlement at Red River

<sup>1</sup>Chester Martin, “The Red River Settlement,” *Canada and Its Provinces*, XIX (Toronto, 1914); A. S. Morton, *The History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (Toronto, [1939]); G. F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (Toronto, 1936).

<sup>2</sup>J. J. Hargrave, *Red River* (Montreal, 1871), 447.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 457.

<sup>4</sup>E.g., John Tanner’s *Mémoires de trente années dans les déserts de l’Amérique du Nord*, I-II (Blossville’s translation, Paris, 1835), I, 65. “After a stay of three months, game became scarce, and we all began to suffer from hunger. The chief of our band, named the Little Assiniboine, proposed that we should change our camp, and fixed a day for removal; but in waiting our distress became extreme” (author’s translation). The frequent short rations and not infrequent near-starvation of the fur traders might be abundantly documented.

in 1812 marked the first attempt at systematic field culture, as distinguished from the sporadic horticulture of the fur-trade posts.<sup>5</sup>

In the Red River colony, however, agriculture did not thrust aside the nomadic economy. Its initial difficulties, the adversities of climate and season,<sup>6</sup> the opposition, ending in violence, of the North West Company, and the shortcomings and mistakes of the colonists themselves,<sup>7</sup> resulted in a hybrid economy, at once nomadic and sedentary. In the early years of crop failure and violence, the buffalo hunt at Pembina, or the fisheries of Lake Winnipeg were the recourse of the Selkirk colonists, as they were of the native Métis. The grasshopper plague of 1818-20 was followed by the great flood of 1826. Not until 1827 did a series of good crop years begin, and agriculture become established in Red River.<sup>8</sup> The introduction of cattle in 1822 and 1823 had only a limited success,<sup>9</sup> as had that of sheep in 1833.<sup>10</sup> The severity of the winters and the attacks of wolves ensured that no pastoral economy developed in Red River.

The consequence of the slow establishment of agriculture in Red River over fifteen uncertain years was the fusion of the new agricultural economy with the old hunting economy of the fur trade. During those years the organized Red River buffalo hunt took form, and became the major occupation of the larger part of the population of the colony. As M. Giraud remarks in his

<sup>5</sup>E.g., *United Kingdom, Report from the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the State and Condition of the Countries Adjoining the Hudson's Bay and of the Trade Carried on There, 1749, passim*; Edward Umfreville, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay Territory* (London, 1790), 126 and 152; D. W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (Toronto, 1904); E. Coues (ed.), *New Light on the North-West: The Journals of Alexander Henry the Younger and David Thompson, 1-11* (New York, 1899), 188-9, 197, 211, 228, 242, 252, 267, 280, 291.

<sup>6</sup>Drought and grubs ruined the crops of 1813: P.A.C., Selkirk Papers, Miles Macdonnell to Selkirk, July 17, 1813; see also M. Giraud, *Le métis canadien* (Paris, 1945), 89. In 1814 and 1815 returns were fair, Morton, *Canadian West*, 565 and 572, but in 1816 the colony was broken up by the Nor-Westerns. The year 1817 was one of storms and early frost, and in 1818 came the locusts: *ibid.*, 644.

<sup>7</sup>Morton, *Canadian West*, 565, quotes Macdonnell as writing of the first two bands of colonists: "None of them cared for settling on lands." Highland agriculture was just emerging from mediaeval, not to say pre-historic, conditions: cf. Henry Hamilton, *The Industrial Revolution in Scotland* (Oxford, 1932), 5. The genuine settlers, those from Kildonan, were, as the historian Gunn noted, stockmen rather than agriculturalists: D. Gunn and C. R. Tuttle, *History of Manitoba* (Ottawa, 1890), 144. No plough was in use in the settlement until 1823: *ibid.*, 242-3.

<sup>8</sup>See *Lettres de Monseigneur Joseph-Norbert Provencher, Premier Evêque de Saint-Boniface: Bulletin de la Société Historique de Saint-Boniface*, III (Saint-Boniface, 1913), 20, 40, 45, 79, 87, 93, 97, 107, 114, 119 for comment on the crops of 1818-20 and 1822-7.

<sup>9</sup>See Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement* (London, 1856), 150-1, and Gunn and Tuttle, *Manitoba*, 271-2, for details of the failure of the Tallow Company, an attempt at large scale cattle raising.

<sup>10</sup>See Morton, *Canadian West*, 643, for details of the introduction of sheep. The first stock of the colony, brought in with the colonists, or purchased locally, had perished in the struggle with the Nor-Westerns.



monumental study of the Canadian Métis: "Pendant plusieurs années, le bétail ne suffit pas non plus à la consommation de la colonie, et la bison demeura 'la nourriture ordinaire de tout le monde' . . . . Bref, l'agriculture était trop fragile pour bannir entièrement l'économie nomade."<sup>11</sup>

The result of this interdependence of the hunt and the farm was an economy which resembled not so much any contemporary one as the then vanishing economy of the Mandans on the upper Missouri and their extinct predecessors of the great river valleys of the high plains to the southwest of Red River. Those primitive societies are described by W. R. Wedel in terms which have a close application to the hunting and farming economy of Red River.

All of these tribes [agricultural tribes dwelling west of the 99th meridian] dwelt in large fixed villages situated near streams where wood, permanent water, and arable ground were to be had. . . . Subsistence was based primarily on the cultivation of maize, beans, and squash, to which were added a long list of wild berries, fruits, and tubers. . . . Of considerable importance, too, especially after the acquisition of the horse about 1700, were the products of the chase. Bison were the principal game animal, and to obtain them one or two well-organized hunting trips were made annually into the western plains.<sup>12</sup>

The comparison is admittedly not to be pushed too far; the Red River settlers were, in varying degrees, the representatives, if isolated, of the dynamic society of western Europe. They had outrun, but would not escape, the Industrial Revolution. The resemblance, nevertheless, if not exact, was fundamental.

To suggest a parallel between the Red River economy and the riverine subsistence economies of the Indians of the high plains, however, is not to deny all success to Red River agriculture. Farming in Red River won certain notable victories before 1870. In the years of uncertainty up to 1827 and in the more stable years that followed, Red River agriculture made important adaptations to its environment. Some of these adaptations were the result of unwitting conformity, others the result of conscious experiment.

<sup>11</sup>Giraud, *Le métis canadien*, 644-5. The observation applies with varying degrees of exactness to different elements in the population of Red River. The Kildonan settlers, the French Canadians, many of the retired servants of the Company in the Lower Settlement and at Grantown, were primarily agriculturalists. The "free men" and their descendants of mixed blood were, for the most part, primarily hunters and fishermen, or, of course, tripmen in the service of the Company. No one, however, not even the steady farmers of Kildonan, escaped the influence of the hunting economy.

It is to be noted that the text refers only to the economy of Red River; the primitive nature of the economy did not preclude a remarkable degree of culture in the upper strata of Red River society.

<sup>12</sup>Waldo R. Wedel, "Environment and Native Subsistence Economies in the Central Great Plains" (*Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Publication 3639, 1941, 8-9).

Of the former the most notable was the production of an early maturing spring wheat. In making this assertion the writer is conscious of differing from the conclusions of the late A. S. Morton. In the *History of Prairie Settlement* and the *History of the Canadian West*, Morton expressed the view that the growing season of the spring wheat cultivated in Red River and the Northwest was very long; in Red River "on the average 135 days to mature unto the harvest." Reference is made to the late harvests in the Colony before 1818. It is then calculated, "from the few data to hand" on the maturing of subsequent harvests, that the average period between sowing and the completion of the harvest was 137 days. Three examples of very long seasons are mentioned, one of 147 days at Edmonton in 1855, one of 150 days at Dog Mission (on the Winnipeg River) in 1857, one of 159 days at the mouth of the Winnipeg River. Sir George Simpson's unfavourable evidence with respect to the agricultural possibilities of the Northwest is also cited. It is made quite clear that Morton believed that the spring wheats of the Northwest were long season, and that in consequence agriculture in Red River and the Northwest was exposed to very grave hazards.<sup>13</sup>

Morton's opinion on any matter of western Canadian history must be treated with respect. There are, however, other data to be taken into consideration. Much evidence exists to suggest that, from 1850 at least, wheat in the Red River district matured in much less than 137 days. Simpson, for example, declared before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1857 his belief that the practice was to sow wheat early in May and to reap it in August. If all of May and half of August be taken into reckoning, this gives a maturing period of 107 days; if all of August, of 123. Simpson's evidence is not a scientific statement, and on all agricultural matters it is confused and evasive. It is, however, the observation of a man of unrivalled experience in the Northwest, and it is to be found in the same pages with the evidence which Morton used to establish the likelihood of a long crop season.<sup>14</sup>

In the same source occurs Colonel Crofton's definite answer, the first of seven such statements the writer has found, to the

<sup>13</sup>Morton, *Canadian West*, 832, and A. S. Morton and Chester Martin, *A History of Prairie Settlement and Dominion Lands Policy* (Toronto, 1938), 28. It is to be noted that in the Red River valley the average frost free period is 120 days, in the Saskatchewan valley, 110.

<sup>14</sup>*United Kingdom, Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company* (London, 1857), 45 and 56. Morton properly accepts Simpson's insistence on the uncertainty of crops in the Northwest, but Simpson's evidence as to fall frosts being a principal cause of this uncertainty is self-contradictory.

question how long wheat took to ripen in Red River. Crofton answered: "In ninety days from sowing."<sup>15</sup> Crofton was in the Settlement only from September, 1846, to July, 1847, but he was reporting his recollection, that of an observer concerned with the food supply of troops, of the current opinion of the agriculturalists of Red River.

The statement of the professional soldier that Red River wheat was an early maturing variety, which would have matched the later Marquis in the shortness of its season, represents the other extreme from the position taken by Morton. A more authoritative witness is the scientific Donald Gunn, who in 1856 wrote: "Wheat sown in the beginning of May was above the ear [sic] on the 13th July, and ripe on the 20th August: the wheat sown on the 29th April was ripe on the 14th August. . . . Barley harvest commenced in July; finished cutting wheat on the 28th August."<sup>16</sup> If the beginning of May is reckoned as May 1, a growing season of 107 to 112 days is indicated (May 1-August 20, 112; April 29-August 14, 107), which is far and vitally short of Morton's 137, for Gunn also recorded that on August 30, 1856, there was a slight frost. Gunn's statement is that of a trained observer who wrote from a record, and while it applied only to his own farm in the Lower Settlement at Red River, and to only one year, it is significant as the one piece of specific information on the question of the length of the wheat crop season.

In the following year Hind, a painstaking if sanguine observer, took notes of the crop season in the West. After noting that wheat sown at Islington Mission (the Dog Mission of Morton) on May 20 had been reaped by August 26 (98 days) and that it required only 93 days to mature, Hind reported that a season of three months was possible. "In favourable years," he wrote, "that is in years which have not been distinguished by so wet and backward a spring for farming operations, as that of the present year [1857], wheat ripens and is ready for the sickle in three months from the date of sowing."<sup>17</sup> That the statement was meant to indicate only the most favourable seasons is revealed by Hind's report that he had found Rev. A. Cowley in the Lower Settlement experimenting with an early variety of "Scotch Wheat," which had matured in 97 days. The common wheat of

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>16</sup>Donald Gunn, "Statistics of Red River," *United Kingdom, Select Committee on Hudson's Bay Company*, Appendix 7, 385. The year 1856 was a wet one in which the wheat would ripen late: Giraud, *Le métis canadien*, 779.

<sup>17</sup>*Province of Canada, Journals of Legislative Assembly*, XVI, 1858, Appendix 3, para. 244.

the country had taken 105 days in 1857.<sup>18</sup> Here we have a crop season practically identical with that recorded by Gunn for 1856.

Shortly after, J. W. Taylor, later American consul in Winnipeg, in a report to his government on the resources and climate of Red River quoted Hind with approval and added: "Wheat [in Red River] ripens in from ninety to one hundred and five days."<sup>19</sup> Taylor's evidence, though not first hand, is that of an industrious and sober student of the American and Canadian Northwest.

The claim that a wheat crop season of three months was possible in the Northwest was to be made again. Indeed, it recurs often enough to suggest that it was current opinion among the more sanguine farmers. Hargrave, a candid and judicious reporter, stated in his *Red River*, written in the late eighties: "The land in Red River Settlement is said, by all who pretend to a knowledge of agriculture, to be peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of wheat. Experiment has also tested this statement with the most satisfactory results, wheat being, in fact, the main crop of the colony. It ripens in three months, and will produce forty bushels to the acre."<sup>20</sup> Hargrave, it is to be noted, professed to be reporting expert opinion and while he used a conditional construction for the yield of wheat, was quite positive about the length of the crop season.

Even more emphatic in quite a different setting was James Taylor, a member of a family long settled in the Headingly district on the Assiniboine. In written evidence submitted to the Senate Committee of 1887 on the food resources of the Northwest, Taylor declared: "In the matter of grain, particularly wheat, a great mistake is being made by our new farmers in sowing varieties that take a long time to ripen. In the earlier days in the country before we entered the Confederation, the wheat raised on the banks of the Red River and also along the Saskatchewan River matured in ninety days."<sup>21</sup> It was then that Red Fife was establishing itself as the major wheat of the West. So flat a criticism of its introduction was unusual, and could only have proceeded from a strong conviction that Red River wheat had had, in fact, a materially shorter crop season than the 115 to 125 days of Red Fife.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, para. 230.

<sup>19</sup>*Province of Canada, Sessional Papers*, XXI (6), no. 83, entitled "Memorial of the People of Red River." Taylor's report was entitled "Relations between the United States and Northwest British America," *United States, House Executive Documents*, 1862, X (146), 1138.

<sup>20</sup>Hargrave, *Red River*, 176.

<sup>21</sup>*Canada, Senate Journals*, 1887, XXI, Appendix 1, 167.

Another example of the conviction occurs at the end of the Red River period. Captain Huyshe of the Red River Expedition of 1870 reported that he was assured that wheat took about ninety days to come to maturity at Fort Frances in the Rainy River district.<sup>22</sup>

In the absence of statistical or scientific information, the above citations may only be submitted as evidence against Morton's belief that Red River wheat required a dangerously long period to mature, and that the advantage of Red Fife was that it had a shorter growing season. This writer is of the opinion that the crop season—from the first day of sowing to the first day of reaping—for Red River wheat from 1850 on was, in conservative figures, from 110 to 120 days.<sup>23</sup> The better Red River farmers at least grew wheat without much fear of early fall frosts.<sup>24</sup>

If, indeed, Red River wheat after 1850 usually matured in 110 to 120 days, the fact would require some explanation in view of the assumption that the original seed of Red River was a long-season strain. The suggestion is advanced that the season was shortened in part by natural selection, in part by conscious experiment.

The first seed wheat was introduced from the British Isles in 1812; both fall and spring wheat failed completely.<sup>25</sup> The origin of the seed obtained from Fort Alexander on the Winnipeg River in 1813 may have been the British Isles or Canada.<sup>26</sup> By 1819 nearly all that seed had been lost. On June 5, 1820, 250 bushels of seed wheat were brought in to Red River by flat boat from Prairie du Chien, in what was then Wisconsin Territory, and were sown at once.<sup>27</sup> Some of it matured sufficiently to yield seed. Nothing is known of the Prairie du Chien wheat, except that it was a soft spring variety. It had, however, at once been subjected to natural selection of the severest sort, for plainly only the hardiest and earliest strains would mature after the June

<sup>22</sup>G. L. Huyshe, *The Red River Expedition* (London, 1871), 138-9.

<sup>23</sup>It is probable that the difference between the conclusions of A. S. Morton and those of this paper lies in his taking the completion of harvest as marking the end of the crop season. But with reference to fall frost, the real point of the matter was the date of ripening. Frost does not injure fully ripened grain. Morton also does not assume, as is done in this paper, a progressive shortening of the crop season, and the long seasons of the early years would operate to raise his average season of 135 days.

<sup>24</sup>If this conclusion is sound, then the significance of the introduction of Red Fife lay not in its shorter season, but in its superior milling qualities. The point awaits investigation, but note a crop correspondent's reference in the *Commercial* for January 29, 1898, 525, to the "mongrel, soft wheat of Red River," which was still being sown in Alberta at that date.

<sup>25</sup>Morton, *Canadian West*, 553 and 555.

<sup>26</sup>Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 23.

<sup>27</sup>Morton, *Canadian West*, 646.

sowing. Whatever wheat survived from the years before 1820, and Morton records that some did, was to be similarly selected by adverse seasons after 1820.<sup>28</sup> And in 1826 the great flood caused the wheat to be sown even later than in 1820. Again only enough was saved for seed.<sup>29</sup> Frost on September 30 must have further eliminated late ripening kernels.<sup>30</sup>

The Prairie du Chien strain, so tested, became the standard Red River wheat. While the surviving earlier seed may have come to be mingled with it, and while other strains were no doubt introduced in small quantities from time to time, no reference to such mixture or introduction has been found until 1847. Then 100 bushels of "Black Sea wheat" were ordered from Great Britain, apparently in an attempt to combat the effects of the dry, hot seasons of the eighteen-forties and the "deteriorated state of the grain."<sup>31</sup> Subsequently Black Sea wheat is referred to as one variety grown in Red River.

The same drought years in the eighteen-forties, as well as the previous bad years of 1836 and 1838, must have operated to select the early maturing strains in the Prairie du Chien wheat. In short, the chief strain of wheat in Red River before 1850 had undergone a process of natural selection similar to that which had carried the culture of Indian corn to favoured localities on the high plains.<sup>32</sup>

Indeed, just as a variety of spring wheat, apparently of a deteriorated kind, had become the staple cereal of Red River, so an inferior, acclimated variety of Indian corn was one product of Red River agriculture. The cultivation of corn was common in the Northwest before 1870. References to it are numerous in the records, from Tanner's account, corroborated by the younger Henry in 1806, of its introduction to the Indians of Netley Creek,<sup>33</sup> to Hind's description in 1858 of the varieties cultivated—Horse-teeth and Mandril (Mandan).<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup>The seed obtained from Fort Alexander in 1822 (John West, *The Substance of a Journal during a Residence in the Red River Colony*, London, 1824, 81) may have been of Prairie du Chien stock or of the local strain of 1813. In either event, it underwent the trials of the Prairie du Chien seed in 1822-6. So also, if they survived, would have done Peter Fidler's "Essex" wheat and his "rie," sown on June 20, 1820: *P.A.M.: Fidler's Notebook*.

<sup>29</sup>Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 109: "a little wheat sowed as late as the 22nd of June, came to maturity."

<sup>30</sup>Giraud, *Le métis canadien*, 640-1, n. 6.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 779; E. H. Oliver, *The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records*, I (Ottawa, 1914), 338.

<sup>32</sup>G. F. Will and G. E. Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri* (Saint Louis, 1917), 73.

<sup>33</sup>Tanner, *Mémoires*, II, 72; Coues, *New Light on the North-West*, I, 280-1 and II, 448.

<sup>34</sup>*Province of Canada, Journals of Legislative Assembly*, 1858, Appendix 3, para. 232. The strain was probably a mixed Mandan strain acclimated farther north; see Will and Hyde, *Corn among the Indians of the Upper Missouri*, 312.

The crop, it is evident, especially from Hind's explicit remarks, could be grown only in favourable localities, near bodies of water and on the "dry points" of the prairie rivers.<sup>35</sup> Corn was not grown as a vegetable to be eaten green, but as a cereal to ripen. The native variety could be depended on to mature in most years; Hind, in fact, reported of the Lower Settlement in Red River that "Indian corn is planted about the 23rd of May and ripens every year."<sup>36</sup> It was indeed for a few years the practice of the Hudson's Bay Company to order from Red River considerable quantities of unhulled Indian corn.<sup>37</sup> Corn was grown largely for home consumption by Indian and white, however, from Rainy River and Garden Island in the Lake of the Woods, to the Saskatchewan Valley.<sup>38</sup> With the coming of commercial agriculture after 1870, the cultivation of the inferior "squaw" corn ceased among whites and the practice itself seems to have been forgotten.

Methods of tillage, of course, also affected both the length of the crop season and the adaptation of wheat culture to the environment of Red River. Down to about 1850 broadcast sowing on roughly ploughed and harrowed land undoubtedly resulted in uneven germination and ripening. Reaping with sickle and scythe lengthened the time of harvest, and increased the danger of frost to ripening grain. Whether grain was cut "on the green side," as was the later practice with Red Fife, does not appear, but it would seem likely. One factor which increased the risks to the crops was the absence of the semi-nomadic settlers on the summer hunt, which made the time of harvest dependent, not on the ripening of the grain, but on their return from hunt or trip. The general effect of primitive methods must have been to increase the speed of natural selection by increasing the adversity the crops had to endure.

Had natural selection been the only force at work, however, the assimilation of the Red River economy to its pre-historic prototypes might have proceeded with little check. In the

<sup>35</sup>*Province of Canada, Journals of Legislative Assembly*, 1858, para. 235 and 242; note that George Catlin observed that the Mandans gathered their corn "before it has ripened fully" and then dried and stored it (*North American Indians*, Edinburgh, 1926, I, 37).

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, para. 230. John Ryerson, *Hudson's Bay* (Toronto, 1855), 159, however, reported that Indian corn could not be relied on as a sure crop.

<sup>37</sup>Morton, *Canadian West*, 662, records 1,000 bushels ordered in 1825; Oliver, *Canadian North-West*, I, gives the following amounts ordered: 647, 200 bushels in 1830; 663, 40 bushels in 1831; 680, 110 bushels in 1832; II, 696, 150 bushels in 1833, subsequent to which the orders were occasional and very small.

<sup>38</sup>*Canada, Senate Journals*, 1887, XXI, Appendix I, 24-5. *Province of Canada, Journals of Legislative Assembly*, 1858, Appendix 3, *passim*; Huyshe, *Red River Expedition*, 138-9.



paternal interest of the Hudson's Bay Company in Red River agriculture, and in the enterprise of good farmers, notably those of the Lower Settlement and Kildonan, another factor was at work. This was the factor of conscious experiment, of agricultural improvement. By the late fifties, summer fallow every fifth or sixth year was apparently standard practice among the better farmers.<sup>39</sup> American and English ploughs of improved patterns were coming in, notably by way of St. Paul, and also reapers and a few threshing machines.<sup>40</sup>

Even more significant was the attempt to improve the strains of wheat. As already noted, "Black Sea" seed had been introduced in 1848 by the Committee on Economy of the Council of Assiniboia, and in 1857 Hind had found Rev. A. Cowley experimenting with an early maturing "Scotch wheat."<sup>41</sup> By 1860 the use of this improved strain was spreading among the farmers of the Lower Settlement, and some had recognized the importance of keeping varieties separate. Others, however, preferred a mixture.<sup>42</sup> The principal strains grown in that progressive district in 1860 were seven in number, "including Black Sea Wheat, English, Irish and Scotch, and a quality [*sic*] brought from Prairie du Chien." All these ripened at much the same time except the Prairie du Chien, which took, it was said, about ten days longer.<sup>43</sup> The length of the growing season was decreased by a warm and sandy soil, as at St. Peters, still farther down the river. An account in the *Nor'-Wester* points to a considerable degree of experimentation and, if the crop season of the Prairie du Chien, the chief strain before 1850, has not been under-estimated, the possession by Red River farmers of wheats that would mature in about 100 days. The most important of these strains may be indicated by James Taylor's statement in 1887 that the kinds of wheat grown in Red River before Confederation were "the Black Sea wheat, the white fife and the prairie *du chien* [*sic*]."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup>Gunn, "Statistics of Red River," 381; *Nor'-Wester*, Dec. 28, 1859.

<sup>40</sup>Gunn, "Statistics of Red River," 384; *Nor'-Wester*, June 14, 1860; *Further Papers Relative to the Exploration by Captain Palliser, etc.* (London, 1860), 56.

<sup>41</sup>*Province of Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1858, Appendix 3, para. 230.

<sup>42</sup>*Nor'-Wester*, Sept. 14, 1860.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup>*Canada, Senate Journals*, 1887, XXI, Appendix I, 165-6. The "Black Sea" wheats, the "white fives" (see also W. J. Healy, *Women of Red River*, Winnipeg, 1923, 97), the shipment of four bags of Red River seed wheat to Iowa in 1860 (*Nor'-Wester*, Sept. 28, 1860), the Minnesota tradition that Red River was, through Prairie du Chien, the source of Red Fife wheat (*History of the Red River Valley, Past and Present*, Chicago, 1909, 196) indeed raise the question to what extent Red River agriculture at its best may have foreshadowed the development of the staple wheat economy after 1880. Red Fife was a Ukrainian wheat, as Black Sea wheat would be.



The two processes of adaptation, one by natural selection, the other by experiment, the former pointing back to primitive subsistence economies, the latter forward to staple agriculture, represent the full measure of agricultural success in Red River. From 1827 to 1858 the Red River farms at best achieved no more than the supply of local needs, of part of the demand of the fur trade, and of a reserve for years of scarcity.<sup>45</sup> After the years of uncertainty down to 1827, it was the practice of the Company to keep a year's supply of provisions in store.<sup>46</sup> In 1848 the Council of Assiniboia established a public granary.<sup>47</sup> Exports of grain were almost unknown,<sup>48</sup> though cattle and horses were driven south to the American market after 1850.<sup>49</sup> An increased local demand, such as that of the military garrison of 1846-8,<sup>50</sup> the exploring parties and prospectors of 1857-62, or the American garrison at Pembina in 1862, would produce a scarcity, if not a partial famine, when the hunts and fisheries were also poor.<sup>51</sup> From 1858 to 1878 the local market, swelled by the slowly mounting trickle of travellers and settlers, absorbed the whole production of Red River agriculture.<sup>52</sup> The Settlement proved itself a supply base for extensive settlement, and as such was invaluable; it did not prove, however, the starting point of a staple agricultural economy.

The failure of Red River agriculture, in spite of its success in adaptation, to serve as the foundation of western agriculture, and the developing internal crisis in the Red River economy, are to be partly explained by the inherent limitations of that economy. How severe and inhibiting the limitations were has never been demonstrated, except by Professor Giraud in the special context of his study of the Métis. In this paper the original shortcomings,

<sup>45</sup>Giraud, *Le métis canadien*, 769-70; Morton, *Canadian West*, 664.

<sup>46</sup>*Province of Canada, Journals of Legislative Assembly*, 1857, Appendix 17, evidence of George Gladman.

<sup>47</sup>Oliver, *Canadian North-West*, I, 350.

<sup>48</sup>J. W. Bond, *Minnesota and Its Resources* (New York, 1853), 276, noted that barley was being shipped temporarily from Red River to Pembina, where farming had been discontinued because of floods.

<sup>49</sup>A. J. Russell, *The Red River Country, Hudson's Bay and North-West Territories Considered in Relation to Canada* (Ottawa, 1869), 83.

<sup>50</sup>*United Kingdom, Select Committee on Hudson's Bay Company*, 1857, 49-50; evidence of Sir George Simpson.

<sup>51</sup>Hargrave, *Red River*, 313; Nor'-Wester, Dec. 28, 1859; S. J. Dawson, *Report on the Exploration of the Country Between Lake Superior and the Red River Settlement and Between the Latter Place and the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan* (Toronto, 1859), Appendix, 36; letter from Bishop of St. Boniface, Feb. 7, 1859.

<sup>52</sup>*Canada, Report of the Select Committee on Immigration and Colonization*, 1876, evidence of Hon. John Sutherland: "We have had a ready home market for the last fifteen years for all our surplus produce, consequently we do not export any farm produce."

as farmers, of the first agricultural settlers have already been noted. Those of the plains hunters, free men, and retired servants of the Company after the union were far greater, with exceptions among the retired officers of the Company and a few outstanding individuals among the free men, such as Cuthbert Grant, Andrew McGillis, Urbain Delorme, and Pierre Falcon.<sup>53</sup> Farming was subordinated to the hunt or to the trip. Implements were poor and few, methods were slovenly, acreage was small.<sup>54</sup> The total cultivated acreage of Red River in 1849 was 6,342½ acres, in 1856, 8,806½ acres.<sup>55</sup> Among the ever increasing half-breed population the pull towards the prototype economy was constant and steadily more effective.

The dominance of the buffalo hunt in the Red River economy, caused at first by the failure to create quickly a successful agriculture, continued and hence set up an internal check on the development of the Colony towards a purely agricultural community. The point was made succinctly by Alexander Ross. After noting that both hunts and crops were uncertain, he wrote: "In the present state of things [1852] their interests [those of the hunters and the farmers] are exactly opposed to each other, inasmuch as a market for one party shuts up all prospects against the other. When the plains fail, the farmer's produce is in demand; and when the crops fail, the hunter finds a ready market; but when both are successful, there is not a tithe of a market for either within the colony."<sup>56</sup> Neither hunt nor agriculture could displace the other,<sup>57</sup> and each depressed the price of the other's produce in a limited local market. From the fatal check of this internal equipoise of the hunting and farming economy, only the development of an export market for agricultural produce could have freed Red River. To that development both an export staple and transportation were necessary, and neither came into being before the old order in Red River was shattered.

While the farmers of Red River constantly bewailed the lack of an export market for their produce before 1857 at least, and

<sup>53</sup>Giraud, *Le métis canadien*, 844; in 1838, for example, Cuthbert Grant farmed 50 acres.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.* See Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 122-6, for a lively, if exaggerated, account of the slovenly habits of one of the inferior Red River farmers.

<sup>55</sup>*Province of Canada, Journal of the Legislative Assembly*, 1858, Appendix 3.

<sup>56</sup>Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 334-5. Ross, as usual, exaggerates, for the Company annually bought supplies at fixed prices from both hunters and farmers.

<sup>57</sup>For the dependence of the hunter, who never produced a year's reserve, on the farmer, see Giraud, *Le métis canadien*, 836, and of the farmer on the hunter, John Ryerson, *Hudson's Bay*, 68: "These two classes afford a ready market to each other, every hunter requiring agricultural produce, and every agriculturalist requiring what are called 'plains provisions'—pemmican, fat and dried meat."

while such a market would have transformed the character of Red River agriculture, they were in fact incapable of supplying export staples for external and distant markets. For one thing, as already noted, one condition of agricultural success in Red River had been adaptation by natural selection to environmental conditions. That involved, in the instance of wheat and Indian corn and perhaps in that of livestock, the production of varieties so inferior as to be incapable of competing in an export market.<sup>58</sup>

Even more important, it is submitted, was a characteristic of Red River agriculture which has been little noted. It was a riparian agriculture, bound closely to the borders of the Red and Assiniboine and their tributaries. That the first agricultural settlements should have been on the river side was natural and inevitable. The need of a supply of fresh water and of easy summer and winter communication determined the adoption of the river lot survey of Lower Canada.<sup>59</sup> Certainly it proved a convenient system, as it had done in New France, for a colony in the early stages of development and not in need of any breadth of land. The significant point, however, is that Red River agriculture proved incapable of freeing itself from the limits of riparian settlement, and could not in fact have done so without an all but complete transformation of its character.

That it did not do so an examination of maps of the Settlement prior to 1869 at once reveals.<sup>60</sup> There was no settlement away from the water front. Moreover, with few exceptions there was no cultivation beyond probably half a mile, and certainly not beyond a mile, from the river banks. Thomas Simpson, the Arctic explorer, wrote to his brother about 1830: "The banks of the river are cultivated to the width of from a quarter to a half mile. All the back level country remains in its original state. . . ."<sup>61</sup> Sir George Simpson declared in 1857 that there had never been "any cultivation [more than] a mile from the river,"<sup>62</sup> though at the same time Rev. G. O. Corbett gave it as his opinion

<sup>58</sup>For comments on Red River bread, see S. H. Scudder, *The Winnipeg Country* (New York, 1890), 97, or Margaret McNaughton, *Overland to the Cariboo* (Toronto, 1896), 24; on the livestock, see Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 73-4, and 390.

<sup>59</sup>It is commonly said that Miles Macdonell, who had lived in Lower Canada, had chosen the river lot survey of that province for the colony. There is no reason to dispute this, but it is curious how closely the Red River system, when the two miles "hay privilege" had been added, resembled the infield and outfield system of Scotland.

<sup>60</sup>See especially the sketch map in *Province of Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1858, Appendix 3, which was drawn at a time when the pattern of settlement was fully developed.

<sup>61</sup>A. Simpson, *Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson* (London, 1845), 85-6.

<sup>62</sup>*United Kingdom, Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, 1857, 51.

that cultivation could be carried on at a very great distance from the streams.<sup>63</sup> "On the river bank and extending from it to a distance of about a third of a mile," wrote Hind in 1857, "farms are laid out in narrow strips. . . ."<sup>64</sup> And Alexander Begg noted when the Red River Settlement had been absorbed in Manitoba that "it was generally supposed that settlement could not be successful on the prairie at any distance over a mile from the river."<sup>65</sup>

The only exceptions to the practice known to the writer occurred on the relatively high ground behind (westward from) the Lower Settlement. There scattered fields were reported by the *Nor'-Wester* in 1860 to be as much as four miles from the river front.<sup>66</sup> As immigration and natural increase led to the taking up of new land, the expansion was not back across the plain, but along the rivers. Even that was resorted to reluctantly, as Ross noted: "The country not being suitable for back or second concessions of lands, . . . the lots become divided; and there are now, not only one establishment, but sometimes two, and even three on the same lot, giving them a ribbon-like appearance."<sup>67</sup> Only the flood of 1852 and the leadership of Archdeacon Cockran sufficed to remedy the congestion, by promoting the foundation of settlements on the Assiniboine from Poplar Point to Portage la Prairie. The joke of Ontario immigrants that the Red River people "farmed on lanes" was apt enough.

The reasons that the country was not "suitable for back or second concessions" were numerous. The water supply was one imperative tie with the river.<sup>68</sup> Back on the plain the only possible source of water was underground and there was a firm conviction, which only post-1870 settlement removed, that water could not be secured by digging wells away from or even near the rivers. Another reason was that in the Red River valley west of the river, almost the only timber was along the streams. Hence, shelter from the wind and wood for building, fuel, and fencing could only be obtained by the waterside. When the larger timber was exhausted in the late forties, new supplies were rafted down the Assiniboine from Portage la Prairie.

Equally effective in maintaining the riparian character of Red River agriculture was the fact that the most tillable soil, the most

<sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>64</sup>*Province of Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1858, Appendix 3, para. 220.

<sup>65</sup>A. Begg, "Seventeen Years in the Canadian North-West," *A Paper Read before the Royal Colonial Institute*, Apr. 8, 1884 (London, 1884), 5; see also Bond, *Minnesota*, 290.

<sup>66</sup>*Nor'-Wester*, Sept. 14, 1860.

<sup>67</sup>Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 201.

<sup>68</sup>Giraud, *Le métis canadien*, 773.

loamy and best drained, was found along the river banks. There was not only the natural drainage of such a site; the Red and its tributaries flow through the broad, flat valley in narrow channels between clay cut-banks. In periodic overflows, silt is deposited at the edge of the bank, forming natural levees above the level of the plain. This had occurred to a remarkable degree along the Assiniboine, but even along the Red, S. J. Dawson estimated in 1857 that the banks were on the average a foot higher than the level of the surrounding plain.<sup>69</sup> As a further result, the land a short distance back from the rivers consisted of wet, meadow soils, or even swamps of considerable extent. Behind the river lots from St. John's to the Lower Settlement, for example, there was, for some years after the flood of 1852, the "Great Swamp."<sup>70</sup> The need of confining tillage to these natural dikes had been learned from the flood of 1826.<sup>71</sup> All these physical factors were, of course, reinforced by social ones—the desire for neighbourhood, the hold of custom, and the ease of communication which the river lot system provided.

Certain technical considerations also operated to confine settlement to the river banks. The iron-pointed wooden plough and even the improved ploughs with iron mouldboards must have been inefficient and labour-consuming implements in the heavy Red River clay, much of which was a black gumbo.<sup>72</sup> In the silt soils of the dikes, however, they would probably scour reasonably well. Not so on the meadow soils of the plains. As late as 1873 Kenneth McKenzie, a master farmer who had settled at Burnside on the verge of the sandy soils of the Assiniboine delta, testified to the need of an all steel, or even a glass, mouldboard, for efficient ploughing of the prairie soils.<sup>73</sup> The primitive character of other implements, such as the flail and the scythe, the scarcity of the new agricultural machinery, such as the reaper and the threshing machine, also operated to keep the area of cultivation small.

The use of wood for fencing worked to the same end. Since all fences were of rails or slabs, they were a further drain on the scanty supply of wood. The fencing of large fields on the plain was too expensive to be attempted until barb-wire came in to-

<sup>69</sup>*Province of Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1858, Appendix 3, Introduction.*

<sup>70</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup>Giraud, *Le métis canadien*, 643.

<sup>72</sup>W. C. McKillican, "An Outline of the History of Agriculture in Manitoba," MSS. of paper read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1929.

<sup>73</sup>Joseph Dussault, *Farming in the North-West of Canada: Actual Results* (Ottawa, 1884), 11.

wards 1880. As the cattle were permitted to wander on the plain all summer, all crops had to be fenced. This necessity, like the inefficiency of the farm implements, tended to keep the fields small; a field of five acres was considered to be large.

Taking all these circumstances into account, it was natural and, indeed, inevitable that even the steady farmers of Kildonan should yield to the inducements to cling to the settlements along the river banks. A further important factor accentuating this tendency was the scarcity of farm labour in Red River.<sup>74</sup> As long as the Métis could make a precarious living by the hunt, or in the boat or cart brigades of the Company or the free traders, they would not turn to the drudgery of the farm. They would not abandon their traditional callings even for the allied employment of herdsmen;<sup>75</sup> the buffalo-runner never became a cowboy. In this fact, as much as in the attacks of the wolves, and the harshness of the winters, was to be found the cause of the failure of Red River to develop a pastoral economy. The scarcity of suitable farm labour continued because of the emigration of many of the young men of British and Canadian blood<sup>76</sup> to the United States and the ever-growing proportion of mixed blood in the population.<sup>77</sup> Red River agriculture could not hold a labour supply great enough for expansion away from the rivers.

The riparian agriculture of Red River, it is submitted, was an integral part of the hunting and farming economy. It was an intensive, almost a horticultural, agriculture, carried on in the most favourable sites. At its best, it had overcome the hazards of the Red River climate, but only by adaptations which lowered the quality of its products and confined them to an uncritical local market. By 1870 the best farmers of Red River had shown little sign of being able to produce an export staple, or to farm away from the rivers.<sup>78</sup> At its worst (and it was near its worst on a great majority of farms), it was a sloven, squatter agriculture, ancillary to the hunt and the freight brigades. As a whole, it had failed to expand beyond the point where it could feed the local population without help from the hunt or the fisheries, or to develop sufficiently to survive a local calamity such as the grasshopper plague of 1868.

Yet agriculture in Red River, even to meet local demands, was

<sup>74</sup>Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 201.

<sup>75</sup>H. M. Robinson, *The Great Fur Land* (New York, 1879), 135.

<sup>76</sup>Ross, *Red River Settlement*, 296-7; *Province of Canada, Journals of Legislative Assembly*, 1858, Appendix 3, para. 217.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, para. 216.

<sup>78</sup>Broadly speaking, of course, no one in the West did until after 1880.

about to be required to expand. In 1874 the last Red River buffalo-hunt was to leave for the plains.<sup>79</sup> The great hunts, of which the staple, pemmican, had sold at from 2*d.* to 3*d.* a pound and dominated the Red River market, had had to range ever farther across the plains to reach the ebbing herds of bison. By 1859 the buffalo frontier had been pushed back to the Cypress Hills.<sup>80</sup> The hunters' occupation was passing, and Red River agriculture, long coupled with the hunt and bound to the river side, was incapable of filling the place of the hunt. The old order in Red River was breaking down of its own inherent weakness even as the frontiers of the outside world were moving up to overwhelm it. What wonder that the Métis, ever the first to suffer in the recurrent shortages of the Red River economy, faced with foreboding a future other men, men of the plough and the written deed to land, would dominate as they had dominated the past of Red River? The traders, the white farmers, the Métis middle class, might make the transition to the new order as they had never wholly submitted to the old. Not, however, the buffalo-hunter and the squatter farmer.

It was this failure of the old order, the passing of the hunt, and the character of Red River agriculture—subsistent, riparian, and restricted—which was the fundamental crisis of 1869-70.

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<sup>79</sup>F. G. Roe, "The Extermination of the Buffalo" (*Canadian Historical Review*, XVI (1), Mar., 1934, 12, n. 85).

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, 12.



## THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY UNDER FIRE,

1847-62

WHEN the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies amalgamated in 1821, the expectation of the new partners was that the tribulations which had nearly bankrupted the two organizations were at an end, and that the period of famine as reflected in the balance sheets would be succeeded by one of great prosperity. To a certain extent these hopes proved justified. A consistent annual profit was realized thereafter, though more moderate than the London committee and the wintering partners had expected. By the eighteen-forties, however, the Company was under attacks which seemed to threaten the basis of its very existence by endangering the monopoly of the fur trade upon which the directors believed successful operations depended.

The most serious threat, which eventually proved fatal to the hegemony of the fur trader in the "fertile belt" of Rupert's Land, came from the land hunger of the Canadian provinces, but in the eighteen-forties a more immediate crisis was occasioned by disaffection among the inhabitants of the Red River area, magnified in representations to the Colonial Office by former servants of the Company supported by missionaries of the Church and Wesleyan Missionary Societies. In the eighteen-forties the British humanitarian movement had not yet lost the zeal it had manifested in the anti-slavery crusade, and champions of backward peoples were heard with respect by officials sympathetic to the missionary viewpoint or concerned with the maintenance of their party in power. When the Hudson's Bay Company was accused of enslaving the Indians and of wringing huge profits from their poverty, an investigation was therefore made, the results of which were of vital importance to the Company.

The immediate cause of the inquiry was a series of communications sent in 1847 to Earl Grey, secretary of state for the colonies, by Alexander K. Isbister, based largely on information from missionaries resident in the Hudson's Bay Company's territories. Isbister, the son of a Company official, was born at Cumberland House and as a youth had served as a clerk in posts of the Mackenzie River District. He had gone to Scotland to be educated, but had returned to Canada in 1837 and entered the service of the Company. However, the life of a salaried employee of the Company offered little scope for his ambitions, and after three years, he departed for study in British universities, never to



return to North America. Though he later declared that he left the Company without bitterness, he soon became its sworn enemy. His declared bases for opposition were the "obstructionism" of the Company toward all colonizing activity within its domain, its interference with the efforts of settlers to promote trade with the United States, and, most of all, its failure to concern itself with improvement of the condition of Indians and half-castes and the sacrifice of their welfare to the profits of the shareholders.<sup>1</sup> The Hudson's Bay Company was to be sorely embarrassed by the attacks of former servants whose reports of mismanagement or corruption were eagerly received by those who were all too willing to believe the worst of an organization which they saw as a reactionary vestige of an absolutist age and a barrier to "progress," reaping unearned profits from the misery of the aboriginal population. Isbister's charges were particularly formidable, for they were made at a time when the Company was subject to attack by powerful men in the ministry and the parliament.<sup>2</sup>

Isbister described the physical and moral degradation of the Indians under the rule of the Company and insisted that their condition could be ameliorated only by the immediate termination of the Company's monopoly and the establishment of Crown rule. "Half-naked, owing to the exorbitant prices demanded for the clothes furnished by the Company," constantly in the Company's debt, besotted by Company liquor, malnourished because of the slaughter of fur-bearing animals, their women employed as harlots by the Company's servants, the Indians, he said, were condemned to a hopeless existence unless the baneful influence of private commercial monopoly was destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

Isbister did not dispute the benefit to the commercial interests of Great Britain from the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company, but he contended that the Company had failed to keep two promises on the basis of which in 1837 it had obtained renewal of its privilege of exclusive trade with the Indians: improvement of the spiritual and physical condition of the native population and encouragement of agricultural settlements where land and

<sup>1</sup>Testimony of A. K. Isbister, in *Report of the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, printed by order of the House of Commons, 1857, 120 ff. Biography of Isbister, *Dictionary of National Biography*. Isbister also was a prominent champion of the Métis in their dispute with Canada in 1870. *Encyclopedia of Canada, Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. It is possible, as George Bryce suggests, that Isbister's sympathy for the Indians and Métis resulted from an admixture of Indian blood in his own veins. *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Toronto, 1904), 437 ff.

<sup>2</sup>See, for example, W. E. Gladstone's speech before the House of Commons, Aug. 10, 1848.

<sup>3</sup>P. A. C., Governor General's Correspondence, 50, A. K. Isbister to Earl Grey, Mar. 5, 1847.

climate justified. He cited the testimony of Henry Beaver, a missionary stationed for a short time at one of the Company's trading posts on the Columbia River, that of the articles bartered by the Company for peltry and other native produce, "over half may be classed as useless, one quarter as pernicious (ardent spirits), and the remainder as of doubtful utility." The established tariff of prices to the natives for their furs in most districts was outrageously low, he declared, and it was only where competition from American traders was a threat that a more favourable standard of exchange was provided. In justification of his charge of inequity, he cited the following price list for furs in the Mackenzie River District, extending from Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska to the Arctic Ocean:<sup>4</sup>

	No. of skins <sup>5</sup>		No. of skins
1 Common Gun	20	1 Kettle (9 Gallon)	20
1 Gill Powder	1	1 lb. Beads	6
18 Lead Bullets	1	2 ft. Twist Tobacco	1
1 Blanket (largest size)	10	1 Man's Coat	12
1 Cheapest Blanket	1	1 Iron Scalping Knife	1
1 Axe (largest)	3	1 oz. Vermilion	1
1 Axe (smallest)	2	1 yard Coarse Cloth	1

Not only were such prices extortionate, said Isbister, but none of the profits resulting therefrom returned to the Indians in the form of services such as educational facilities. On the contrary, sale of spirituous liquors had increased after the renewal of the licence and, worse, the Company had "permitted generation after generation of the hapless race consigned to their care to pass their lives in the darkest heathenism."<sup>6</sup> Here "the testimony of a whole people through their representatives [is] to be weighed against the assertions of two men [George Simpson and J. H. Pelly] having a direct and to them important object in view in the statements they advance."<sup>7</sup>

From James Stephen, undersecretary of state for the colonies, Isbister's complaints received a sympathetic reception. Stephen had supported the humanitarian cause in its campaigns for the promotion of native interests in Africa, and he now called upon

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>The term "skin" referred to the skin of a full-grown beaver. The skins of other animals were valued in terms of this arbitrary standard of value. Thus in 1847, four musk skins made a "skin," as did three marten skins or two fox skins.

<sup>6</sup>Governor General's Correspondence, 50, Memorial to the secretary of state for colonies, Feb. 17, 1847, from "Deputies of the Natives of Rupert's Land," including A. K. Isbister and others.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, A. K. Isbister to Earl Grey, Mar. 5, 1847.

the Company to make a detailed reply to the charges made by Isbister. These accusations were given additional weight by the receipt by the Colonial Office in March, 1847, of a memorial from the "Deputies of the Natives of Rupert's Land," demanding an end to Hudson's Bay Company rule. The memorialists complained: "That from the harsh administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, discontent and misery prevail amongst the natives of Rupert's Land, to an unparalleled extent, and your Memorialists are most anxious that Her Majesty's Government should as early as possible inquire into the condition of the unfortunate people who are compelled to appeal to their Sovereign against the ruinous effects and consequences of the monopoly which the Hudson's Bay Company have so long enjoyed under a Charter that according to some of the highest authorities has long since lost its force."<sup>8</sup>

This memorial presented the same black picture of misery and degradation as Isbister had drawn, and the similarity is further enhanced by the fact that he was the leading memorialist. Though all of the "Deputies" were or had been resident in the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, the basis for their claim to represent the sentiments of the Indian population was not indicated. Simultaneously another petition was received by the Colonial Office from one thousand of the "leading Indians and half-breeds of Red River" asking for the establishment of either direct Crown rule or government by a local elective board with full power to administer the affairs of the settlement.<sup>9</sup> The petition, drawn up by an un-named clergyman at Red River, was written in excellent French, and it was by no means certain that the "signatories" were fully cognizant of the contents, since, as the petitioners themselves declared, there were few literate natives in the territory. The seriousness of the charges, however, could not be lightly brushed aside, since the existence of serious friction between the half-breeds and the Company over trading and land-holding privileges was already known to the Colonial Office and was shortly to be underlined by the open defiance of the Company's authorities by the Métis led by the elder Louis Riel.

Since the imperial government had no regular channel of communication at its disposal for determining the facts in a wilderness hundreds of miles removed from the centres of settlement, Grey requested Lord Elgin, governor of Canada, to suggest a method by which accurate knowledge of the character of the

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, Memorial to the secretary of state for colonies, Feb. 17, 1847.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, Copy enclosed in letter, A. K. Isbister to Earl Grey, Feb. 17, 1847.

Company's rule might be provided. He suggested that the Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops of Canada with the head of the Methodist body might constitute themselves a committee to acquire and to transmit to the governor information from their clergy in the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, and that Elgin should determine from the reports thus presented the truth of the charges made by Isbister.<sup>10</sup>

One year passed with no reply from Elgin. On March 30, 1848, Grey again inquired as to what action had been taken,<sup>11</sup> and finally on June 6, 1848, the governor forwarded his report, in which the reasons for his delay were made evident. Red River, he stated, was so distant, there was so little intercourse between it and Canada, and the character of Company jurisdiction was so "peculiar," that it was difficult to obtain sufficient facts on which to base a report. From the sources of information that he had been able to utilize, he had, however, come to the conclusion that the Company's government had on the whole been beneficial to the Indians and that the Company was to be commended for the efficiency of its operations in a vast and inhospitable territory. Apart from Lieutenant-Colonel John F. Crofton, lately in command of the 6th Royal Regiment at Fort Garry, the informants were not named, but it was quite evident that Elgin had not leaned heavily on the half-breeds or missionaries. In language which would have been endorsed by many of his contemporary officials in Africa, Elgin castigated the complainants for their lack of realism and their over-zealousness to elevate a race of inferior culture without sufficient realization of the obstacles. The governor stated:

It is indeed possible that the progress of the Indians toward civilization may not correspond with the expectations of some of those who are interested in their welfare. But disappointments of this nature are experienced I fear in other quarters as well as in the Territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, and persons to whom the trading privileges of the Company are obnoxious may be tempted to ascribe to their rule the existence of evils which it is altogether beyond their power to remedy. There is much reason to fear that if the Trade were thrown open and the Indians left to the mercy of the adventurers who might chance to engage in it, their condition would be greatly deteriorated.<sup>12</sup>

Elgin's report on the character of the Company's administration conformed in all essential particulars to another received by Grey from Major Griffiths, Crofton's successor at Fort Garry, and on

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, Grey to Elgin, June 4, 1847.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, Grey to Elgin, Mar. 30, 1848.

<sup>12</sup>P.A.C., Dispatches from Cathcart and Elgin, G. 12, v. 65, Elgin to Grey, June 6, 1848.

the basis of this information Grey came to the conclusion that the charges were "in part undeserving of credit, in fact so unimportant as not to merit inquiry."<sup>13</sup> It may be doubted that the testimony of two military officers was of greater authority than that of the half-breeds and missionaries who had presented the charges against the Company. Nevertheless, the Colonial Office informed Isbister that his charges could not be sustained and that unless they could be substantiated by "direct and trustworthy evidence," no further inquiry would be made. The Hudson's Bay Company for the time thus avoided an investigation which might have caused it embarrassment; but, though the Colonial Office exculpated the Company from the charges of maladministration, it was made clear that the ministry and the parliament reserved the right to institute a full inquiry at any time they might think desirable and to take whatever action they might find necessary to bring the operations of the Company into conformity with the public interest of Great Britain and the welfare of the inhabitants of the Company's territories.<sup>14</sup> Under the régimes of colonial secretaries less favourably disposed to the vested interests of the Company than Earl Grey, this threat was destined to become a reality.

The complaints of the half-breeds and their supporters, though they had not resulted in action by the imperial government, had been formidable; but they were far more dangerous to the Company when coupled with the demands of Canada for the right to extend its agricultural frontier into the Company's territories. In the eighteen-forties the Canadian government had taken little part in attacks on the Company, but by the eighteen-fifties it had become evident that the land hunger of Canadians could be relieved only by migration to the United States or by the extension of settlement into the Company's territories. Despite the Company's promises to promote agriculture in all practicable areas, the directors and their servants had no intention of encouraging such a development which they deemed harmful to the fur trade. In the eighteen-fifties the only point upon which all parties could agree was that the interests of a fur-trading monopoly could not be reconciled with the extension of agriculture. In the conflict between the Company and Canada, every colonial secretary after 1855 displayed undisguised sympathy for the Canadian viewpoint.

<sup>13</sup>Governor General's Correspondence, 50, Colonial Office to Sir J. H. Pelly, Governor of Hudson's Bay Company, Jan. 23, 1849, enclosure to letter, Grey to Elgin, Feb. 8, 1849.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, Colonial Office to A. K. Isbister, Jan. 23, 1849, enclosure in letter, Grey to Elgin, Feb. 8, 1849.

Henry Labouchere, who assumed the office in October, 1855, was the first of a series of colonial secretaries who by their pressure on the Company caused it to sell its rights to a group with colonizing objectives and virtually compelled the reorganized Company to come to terms with Canada.<sup>15</sup>

In December, 1856, Labouchere wrote Governor Head that, since the Company's licence for exclusive trade with the Indians expired in 1859,<sup>16</sup> the government had decided to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the Company's operations in the licensed territories and that, since Canadian interests were involved, Canada should send witnesses to appear before this body. In the hearings of the Select Committee, which were broadened in scope to include inquiry into all phases of the Company's activities, Alexander Isbister appeared as an effective ally of Canada. His charges were now heard by a group the majority of whom were not unfavourably disposed to his case, and at least three members of which—Labouchere, Roebuck, and Gladstone—were certain to give his evidence a sympathetic reception.

The hearings largely refuted one of Isbister's complaints while reinforcing another. His charge of wholesale dispensation of liquor by the Company could not be substantiated by the evidence presented. George Simpson testified that during the period from 1847 to 1856, the average annual importation of liquor into the territory was 5,000 gallons, certainly an insufficient quantity to cause wholesale drunkenness among the inhabitants, and that even the servants of the Company were forbidden to use spirits. The only exception that Simpson would admit to the rule prohibiting the dispensation of liquor to the Indians was the distribution of *regale*, liquor diluted with water, when they arrived for trading. Simpson's testimony would not carry great weight in refutation of Isbister were it not for the fact that it was confirmed by several disinterested sources of information, at least one of which was avowedly antagonistic. W. E. Gladstone, certainly no friend of the Company, in a speech in the House of Commons in 1848, condemned the Company for increasing the importation of spirits from 3,800 gallons in 1837 to 9,075 gallons in 1845. The latter figure, while higher than Simpson's estimates, was not sufficient to justify the charges of Isbister, and the unusually high importation of 1845 could be explained by the fact that in that year a wing of the 6th Royal Regiment, not

<sup>15</sup>For further discussion on this subject, see J. S. Galbraith, "The Hudson's Bay Land Controversy, 1863-69" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, forthcoming issue).

<sup>16</sup>Governor General's Correspondence, 50, Labouchere to Head, Dec. 4, 1856.



under the Company's jurisdiction, was sent to Red River.<sup>17</sup> Simpson's contention that the Indians were well treated by the Company was supported by most witnesses, including Colonel Crofton, Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Lefroy, who had spent two years in the territory, and the bishop of Rupert's Land, the Right Reverend David Anderson, who testified that the Company had done much for the Indians, though he wished they would do more in the matter of education. The acceptance by the Committee of the Company's contentions with regard to treatment of the Indians was indicated by the Committee's recommendation that the monopoly in the Indian trade be continued in those areas where settlement was impossible.<sup>18</sup>

When Isbister condemned the Company for its antipathy to colonizing activity, however, he was on more solid ground. There was general agreement, even among the supporters of the Company's monopoly, that settlement must be permitted and encouraged where it was practicable, and the weakest point of George Simpson's testimony was his attempt to discount the value for agricultural purposes of southern Rupert's Land, despite his previous assertions which had seemed to indicate his belief to the contrary.<sup>19</sup> The Committee's report heralded the end of the fur-trading monopoly in the "fertile belt." From this time, the Company was continually harassed by the Colonial Office to make terms with Canada, until it was forced to surrender.

Labouchere began to force the issue immediately after the publication of the Select Committee's report. To pry the Company loose from what he regarded as its unreasonable position of opposition to colonization, he proposed to use two levers—insistence upon the determination of the boundary between Canada and the Company's territories, and the threat of withdrawal of the Company's exclusive licence in the Indian territories. If the question of the boundary were adjudicated by the Privy Council, he believed, Canada might well acquire southern Rupert's Land without further struggle, since the chartered claims of the Company were questionable and Canada could advance a claim to the entire area of south Rupert's Land as the heir to the French domain. Unfortunately from Labouchere's standpoint, however, the British government could not press the case, since the attorney-general and solicitor-general had advised that, as the grantor of

<sup>17</sup>Simpson's testimony, in *Report of the Select Committee*, 61 ff.

<sup>18</sup>*Report of the Select Committee*.

<sup>19</sup>Simpson had referred to fertile land along the banks of certain streams. In his testimony before the Committee he stated that he had meant only the banks themselves and that the hinterland was unfit for agriculture.

the charter, it should not appear as a party to proceedings reviewing its own acts.<sup>20</sup> Two courses were open to him: to secure the consent of both the Company and Canada to the submission of the question to the Privy Council or, failing that, to induce Canada to undertake legal action.

On January 20, 1858, the Colonial Office notified the Company that it was willing to advise the renewal of the exclusive trading licence in the Indian territories for twenty-one years, provided that the Company agreed to certain conditions: (1) the reservation, as in the existing licence, of any territories formed into colonies; (2) the exception of Vancouver's Island from the licence, since it had already been constituted a colony; (3) an agreement by the Company to submit the question of the boundary to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. With regard to the last proposal, Labouchere acknowledged that Canada might interject the question of the validity of the charter itself.<sup>21</sup>

If agreement could not be reached for such an amicable settlement, Labouchere stated, he would propose as an alternative condition for the renewal of the licence that the Company consent to surrender to the Crown all lands that might be required by Canada for settlement. Canada might annex such territory wherever she had established roads or other lines of communication with the area and when she had given "satisfactory evidence" of her ability to govern the territory effectively. To determine satisfactory performance by Canada of these conditions, the colonial secretary proposed the appointment of a board of three commissioners, one each to be nominated by Canada, the Company, and the British government. This board would also be authorized to recommend the amount of compensation owing the Company for the loss of its land.<sup>22</sup>

As a fourth condition for the renewal of the licence, the Company was requested to authorize the Crown to issue licences for mining and fishing "within limited districts" to British subjects desiring to engage in these pursuits.<sup>23</sup> To a Company which had successfully withstood for almost two hundred years all attacks on the legality of its charter, the demands of the Colonial Office might have seemed presumptuous. The directors, however, recognized that the issues were no longer primarily legal—that the claims of agriculture and settlement far outweighed in the public

<sup>20</sup>*Report of the Select Committee.*

<sup>21</sup>Governor General's Correspondence, 50, Herman Merivale to John Shepherd Jan. 20, 1858, enclosure to letter, Labouchere to Edmund Head, Jan. 22, 1858.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*



mind those of fur trading, with its attendant nomadic life, sparse population, and static civilization, and that it would be suicidal to court even greater unpopularity by defiance of the British government. The Company, therefore, within a day after the receipt of Labouchere's ultimatum, agreed to virtually unconditional surrender. They accepted all of the conditions laid down by the Colonial Office, asking only that Canada guarantee to assume responsibility for the preservation of order in all territories ceded to it and to prevent "lawless and dishonest adventurers" from infringing on the right of the Company in the areas remaining under Company control. The Company's reply to Labouchere was throughout expressive of eagerness to conform to the demands of Canada and the Colonial Office. The price for such conformity would not seem to have been inordinately high—the assurance by Britain and Canada of their cordial co-operation in maintaining tranquillity and order among the Indian tribes, and protection of the frontiers of the whole adjacent British territories from foreign encroachment.<sup>24</sup>

It appeared that Labouchere was about to achieve his ambition to be the instrument of Canada's acquisition of a new frontier. He was denied that role by two circumstances which converted the Company from eager acquiescence to surly defiance and prolonged the controversy for another decade. A change of government removed Labouchere from office at the moment of his apparent success, and Canada refused to put aside its demand that the validity of the Company's charter should be determined. Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, who assumed the duties of colonial secretary in June, 1858, is well known to Canadian history for his rebuke to those federationists led by Governor Head who wished to initiate discussions among the British North American colonies for closer union.<sup>25</sup> He also must assume some responsibility for the continued *impasse* between the Company and Canada, for, by his attempts to bludgeon the Company into submission, he forced the directors into resistance. Lytton was not content to insist upon the observance of Labouchere's terms as the conditions for the renewal of the trading licence. He demanded that, in addition, the Company should consent to submit to the Privy Council both the boundary issue and the

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, John Shepherd, governor, Hudson's Bay Company, to Labouchere, Jan. 21, 1858.

<sup>25</sup>Lytton informed Head and the lieutenant-governors of other provinces on September 10, 1858 that the question of federation was of imperial concern and therefore one "which it properly belongs to the Executive authority of the Empire, and not that of any separate province, to initiate."

question of the validity of the charter. This it refused to do,<sup>26</sup> and when it resisted, he threatened. He declared that, if the Company continued to refuse this additional demand, "both Canada and the British Parliament might justly complain of [this] unnecessary delay," and that he would "take the necessary steps for closing a controversy too long open and for securing a definite decision which is due to the material development of British North America and the requirements of an advancing civilization." In addition, the licence for trading in the Indian territory would not under such circumstances be renewed.<sup>27</sup> In vain the Company protested that it had given its consent to all of Labouchere's conditions and that it was inequitable for Lytton now to make additional demands.<sup>28</sup>

Lytton, having threatened, now found it necessary to act. He had informed the Company that he would take "all necessary steps" to bring its charter under review. He now found, as had Labouchere, that his government had no authority to institute proceedings and that any action must be initiated by Canada.<sup>29</sup> When Cartier, Galt, and Ross visited England in 1859, therefore, Lytton pressed upon them the necessity of their government undertaking responsibility for testing the validity of the charter.<sup>30</sup> While awaiting the Canadian government's decision, he notified the Company that its licence would not be renewed but that, since the existing licence was scheduled to expire in May, the government in the public interest would be willing to extend the Company's privileges for one year.<sup>31</sup> If the Colonial Office had expected in this manner to make the Company more pliable, it was badly disappointed. The directors declined the offer of a year's grace, with the explanation that acceptance for any period shorter than twenty-one years would merely continue the state of suspense and that it might paralyse their authority even within the chartered territory from the impression it would create that their powers were approaching an end. They added that the licence had never been required for purposes of trade, but had been valued primarily as a means for the maintenance of order in the territories surrounding the Company's domain. The directors, well aware of the unpopularity of their monopoly, presented to Lytton probably

<sup>26</sup>Governor General's Correspondence, 50, H. H. Berens, deputy governor, Hudson's Bay Company to Lytton, Oct. 12, 1858.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, Colonial Office to Berens, Nov. 3, 1858.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, Berens to Lytton, Nov. 10, 1858.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, attorney-general and solicitor-general to Lytton, Dec. 10, 1858.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, Lytton to Head, Feb. 11, 1859.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, Colonial Office to Berens, Jan. 28, 1859.

as effective an exposition of the Company's position as can be found anywhere in its frequent disputes with those who sought to undermine its authority. After calling Lytton's attention to the correspondence with Labouchere which, they stated, might have escaped his attention, they presented the criteria on which they felt their case should be judged:

No monopoly can be upheld on any ground short of a conviction of its necessity as the best, if not the only means of accomplishing some exceptional object. . . . If a better means can be devised of maintaining Order and peace in the Indian Country, and for the protection of the Indian Tribes from the evils which have hitherto been found inseparable from competition in the Trade, as well as for the Colonization and Agricultural Improvement of the Territory, the question of the abolition of the Hudson's Bay Company should only be one of just indemnity to the shareholders for their legal rights and interests.

If on the other hand it should be found impossible to devise better means for the Government of the Country, the hands of the Directors should be strengthened to enable them to fulfil the public purposes for which their services have been considered efficient and satisfactory for the last forty years.<sup>32</sup>

The Company had informed the Colonial Office that, if its tenure in the Indian territory was not satisfactory and direct Crown rule would be more effective, such a transfer of jurisdiction should take place immediately; if its monopoly was a barrier to progress in its chartered territory, the obstacle could be removed by just indemnity to the shareholders. Neither suggestion was pleasing to the colonial secretary. He replied that it was the "general opinion" among lawyers that the monopoly of trade claimed by the Company under its charter was invalid and could be defended only by a distorted interpretation of an "invidious territorial grant." The colonization of British Columbia, he declared, made it impossible for Britain to temporize further, since the security of Canada and British Columbia demanded effective control over the intermediary Hudson's Bay Company territories and it was evident that under Company rule such security could not be provided without the assistance of the British government. He informed the directors that if Canada did not indicate by May 1, 1859, its desire to act against the charter, the British government would itself institute proceedings. Curiously, in contrast to his fulminations against the iniquities of the Company in the remainder of his communication, Lytton concluded by offering to extend the trading licence in the Indian territory for two years.<sup>33</sup>

The Company's reply was an unqualified rejection of a two-

<sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, Berens to Lytton, Feb. 8, 1859.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, Colonial Office to Berens, Mar. 9, 1859.

year extension, on the same grounds as their refusal to accept an additional one-year lease. The directors added that, while they were aware that Canada had the right to test the validity of the charter, they were at a loss to understand why the British government should invite her to take such action.<sup>34</sup> The correspondence between Lytton and Governor Head during the spring of 1859 amply justified the Company's belief that the Colonial Office and not Canada was the prime mover in the demand for such litigation. Lytton repeatedly prodded Head to encourage immediate action by the Canadian government and he made his importunities more pressing by his insistence on a Canadian reply by May 1, 1859.<sup>35</sup> When Head informed the colonial secretary on April 4 that Canada had decided to take no action at that time,<sup>36</sup> Lytton did not conceal his disappointment.<sup>37</sup>

The basis for the Canadian refusal, as stated in an address to the Queen by the Canadian parliament, was that the chartered territory was not part of Canada and was, should the charter be invalid, subject to imperial and not provincial control. The parliament agreed that it was imperative that the "fertile belt" of Rupert's Land should be freed immediately from Company control in order that settlement could be begun, but they insisted that only Britain could accomplish this objective.<sup>38</sup> Canada and Great Britain, it appeared, were both eager to strip the Company of its rights, but each insisted that it was the other's responsibility. Lytton had threatened the Company with Canadian action, which had not materialized. He had announced that in the event Canada did not institute proceedings, his government would take all necessary steps to bring the charter before the courts; no such litigation was commenced, apparently on the advice of the government's legal advisers.<sup>39</sup> He had attempted to bring the Company to accept his demands by the withholding of its trading licence, and this action had not accomplished its objective. In attempting to achieve too much, Lytton had achieved nothing; indeed, less than nothing, for he had undone the work of his predecessor and embittered the relations between Canada and the Company.

The Company, however, was keenly aware that this would not

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, Berens to Lytton, Mar. 15, 1859.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, Lytton to Head, Feb. 11, 1859, Mar. 10, 1859, Mar. 18, 1859.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, Head to Lytton, Apr. 4, 1859.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, Lytton to Head, May 13, 1859.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, Joint address of Canadian Parliament to Queen, adopted in session of 1859.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, attorney-general and solicitor-general to Lytton, Dec. 10, 1858. It should be observed that Lytton had received this communication prior to his threat to take action against the Company.

be the last attack, and this knowledge predisposed the shareholders to the sale of their holdings under the most favourable terms possible. When Canadians continued to demand that land be made available for settlement, the Company replied that if Canada wanted the territory, the shareholders would be willing to sell it.<sup>40</sup> When Canada continued to insist that no payment should be made, negotiations were begun with the International Financial Association which resulted in the sale of the Company to a new group of shareholders with avowed colonizing objectives.

The Company had not been forced to surrender by attacks on its maladministration or its corruption of the Indians, neither of which were proved to the satisfaction of disinterested parties. Rather, it was required to accept a kind of "manifest destiny," that the agrarian frontier must move into all territories suitable for cultivation and that the rights of the fur trader must be subordinate to those of the farmer. It was evident by 1860 that either American or Canadian settlement would soon spill over into the fertile belts of south Rupert's Land. The sale of the Company in 1863 was in recognition of this inevitability, as was the agreement between the new Company and Canada in 1869. With tact and understanding among the three immediately interested parties—Britain, Canada, and the Company—these lands might have been opened to settlement in 1859. Instead, there ensued a deadlock of another decade, during which each side, perfectly assured of the justice of its case, was embittered by the obstinacy of the opposition. In the end, a settlement was reached, but ten years had been lost, and the terms of the agreement were probably not more advantageous to Canada than those proposed by Labouchere a decade before. Though all parties may be condemned for their part in this vexatious and perilous<sup>41</sup> delay, the Company, at least in the period before 1862, seems to have been more sinned against than sinning.

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<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, A. G. Dallas, Hudson's Bay Company governor in North America, to Charles Alleyne, provincial secretary of Canada, Apr. 16, 1862.

<sup>41</sup>The threat of American expansion from the south was not entirely imaginary. See J. S. Galbraith, "The Hudson's Bay Land Controversy."

## THE QUEBEC SHIP LABOURERS' BENEVOLENT SOCIETY

"... whenever a shriek of agony arose, or a heart-rending cry for help, prudent citizens would close the window, and say, 'It is some of the Irish in the Lower Town'!"<sup>1</sup>

THE purpose of the present study is to suggest that, while the Irish labourers employed in Upper Canada a century and more ago may have presented problems in "industrial relations," as was brought out in Mr. Pentland's admirable article on the Lachine strike of 1843 which appeared in a former issue of this REVIEW,<sup>2</sup> they were also capable of supplying a solution to these problems through their skill in combining and in conducting collective bargaining. The instance in point is the Quebec Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society. It was founded in 1857 by Irish longshoremen in the port of Quebec, and, since it is active today, it constitutes one of Canada's oldest trade unions. The study is based on field work performed in Quebec, supplemented by the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour* (1889), an invaluable documentary source, and local contemporary newspapers.

The Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society may be described briefly as developing from the Irish past and the Quebec present. In the eighteenth century, the Irish small farmer and peasant learned the necessity of combination, and often cloaked it in secrecy.<sup>3</sup> In the early nineteenth century, this accumulated skill was carried into the organization of urban workers, especially in Dublin.<sup>4</sup> The more spectacular successes of Orangemen and United Irishmen further indicate the strength of the tradition, when placed on a political level. The softer side of the national genius was shown by the progress of the savings bank movement, and by other forms of self-help. The position of the Irish in Quebec City was such as to bring this instinct into early operation. On the one hand was a small permanent community, composed of a few professional men, and a larger number of small tradesmen

<sup>1</sup>Charles Lever, *Confessions of Con Cregan* (n.p., Collier, n.d.).

<sup>2</sup>H. C. Pentland, "The Lachine Strike of 1843" (*Canadian Historical Review*, Sept., 1948, 255-78).

<sup>3</sup>Arthur Young, (*A Tour in Ireland*, edited by A. W. Hutton (London, 1892), I, 81 ff.

<sup>4</sup>George O'Brien, *The Economic History of Ireland from the Union to the Famine* (London, 1921), 386 ff.

and artisans.<sup>5</sup> This was the group which had built St. Patrick's Church, and which probably supplied the substance of St. Patrick's Society, organized in 1836. They were the "old" or pre-famine Irish, well-established folk, whose outlook was conditioned pre-eminently by their class. On the other hand, there was a very large transitory Irish colony recruited from the immigrants who thronged Quebec on their westward odyssey. They were dependent on casual labour, and of casual labour Quebec had singularly little to offer. The city was not the centre of canal, road, or railway construction, the ordinary recourse of the new-comer, nor was it a centre of farm employment. Ship-building, as highly skilled labour, was closed, and was, moreover, monopolized by the French Canadian.<sup>6</sup> There remained only employment in the great staple of the period, the export of square timber. The Irish became longshoremen, engaged almost exclusively in loading the timber vessels. Labour in the timber trade was highly specialized. A contemporary differentiated "... choppers, dressers, or labourers at the timber coves, ... Timber towers and bateauxmen. ...". Accepting the pronouncements of D. D. Calvin, about the only student to examine the social aspects of the industry, as the criterion, it does not appear that Irish were employed numerously in anything but loading.<sup>7</sup> It would be difficult to say at all precisely when they entered this occupation. A reference in the writings of Dr. James Douglas seems to imply that as late as the forties, loading was done by the ship's crew, although he adds, significantly, "... and by hired immigrants."<sup>8</sup> With the great increase of Irish settlement in Quebec after 1847, this phase of the timber trade became associated peculiarly with them. They lived along Champlain and "Little" Champlain Streets, close to the coves where the rafts were broken up, and where work could be found.

Loading timber was conspicuously dangerous and difficult. The stout volume of evidence collected by the Royal Commission in 1888 amply bears out this bald statement. During the season of navigation, the men were exposed in all weathers on the river.

<sup>5</sup>There is no extensive social study of Quebec in English. The following monographs are useful: Memoriam Sheehy, "The Irish in Quebec" (*Report*, Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1943-4, 35 ff.); John A. Gallagher "St. Patrick's Parish-Quebec" (*Report*, Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1947-8, 71 ff.); W. Wood, "The Historic Seaport of Quebec" (*Canadian Historical Review*, Dec., 1945, 392 ff. especially 396-9); and P. Smith, "The Passing of the Sailing Ship at Quebec" (*Report*, Canadian Historical Association, 1923, 65 ff.).

<sup>6</sup>Narcisse Rosa, *La Construction des Navires à Québec* (Quebec, 1897), 8 ff.

<sup>7</sup>D. D. Calvin, *The Saga of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto, 1945), 77 ff.

<sup>8</sup>*Journals and Reminiscences of James Douglas, M.D.*, edited by his son (New York, 1910), 147.



The swingers frequently worked waist-deep, their clothing saturated and freezing, as they ferried logs from the coves in frantic efforts to load the vessels before winter closed the river. "They have to walk on the water," it was said grimly. Mishaps were frequent and ranged from being carried half-way down to the Island of Orleans by the ebb tide, when a raft unexpectedly broke up, to being maimed or killed in the hold of a ship by a "rogue" log.<sup>9</sup> The holders, the men who stowed the cargo, were in constant danger, and there is little doubt that of the various phases of a generally dangerous occupation, work in the hold was the most dangerous. The haste with which loading was done, along with the old and uninspected tackle frequently employed, made additional hazards, and probably explains why the Irish workers were left in possession. Wages were low, so low, that when a man was ill his family was destitute, and when he died "... we had to go round with a hat ... to buy a candle to wake him, or a coffin to bury him in. ..." One dollar and eighty cents a day ("... and gentlemen, we would work eleven and a half hours for it ...") in 1855 was the median rate between the \$1.50 of 1853 and the \$3.00 of 1854. By way of contrast, men employed in shipbuilding did not receive less than \$2.00 a day.<sup>10</sup> Wages were irregularly paid also. The stevedore paid when he wished, and apparently what fraction he wished. Occasionally he did something worse, paid in depreciated bank notes or withheld part of the wage as a species of commission. Sometimes the shipmaster was the villain, as, for example, the captain of the *Norwood*, who cleared Quebec in June, 1866, owing the longshoremen over \$800. The longshoreman received a ticket on ship board, and this was redeemable in money at the stevedore's office, where ever that might be.<sup>11</sup> Hence a man who lived at Sillery and loaded at Indian Cove (below Lévis) might have to cross to Quebec to claim his wages. Thus it was easy to lose a day's work trying to collect back pay. Low wages, uncertain payment, and the long period of inactivity when navigation closed, led to seasonal migrations to the ports of the southern United States. This was an established practice as early as 1853, and the "demoralizing" effects on the Irish community need not be enlarged. Four years later in 1857 hard times settled on Quebec, and even French-Canadian labour, long-established and relatively well paid, felt pinched.

<sup>9</sup>*Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour in Canada*, Evidence 4, Statements by Richard Burke and Patrick Mullins (Ottawa, 1889), 741 ff.

<sup>10</sup>Rosa, *Construction des Navires à Québec*, 10.

<sup>11</sup>*Report of the Royal Commission on Relations of Capital and Labour*, Statement by Thomas Cullen, 1087 ff.



Successive issues of local newspapers carried long accounts of workers' meetings in St. Roch, and of processions through the Lower Town protesting against unemployment and reduced wages.<sup>12</sup> It was out of this situation that the Ship Labourers' Society grew.

Whether the Society had a single founder cannot now be known. Richard Burke, who appeared before the Royal Commission, asserted that as early as 1854 he had tried "to get up" an organization, and he was connected with the Ship Labourers' Society in 1857. The first president was said to be a Simon Grogan, and with him were associated from early times, James Corcoran, Patrick Mullins, William Reason, and Alexander McFall, authentic "'Little' Champlain Street harps," every one of them.<sup>13</sup> As the Society developed, the vice-president and the secretary became the key officers, the latter holding his position for long periods, often for from seven to ten years. They appear to have received a small salary, which enabled them to remain in Quebec during the winter, keeping a friendly eye on absent members' families and making preparation for the opening of navigation. Thus they formed the continuity of the Society, and exercised a good deal of direction at its meetings. The business under discussion was threshed out at street corners on summer nights, when the vice-president and secretary flitted from one group to another assessing opinions and harmonizing views. After these preliminaries, the formal meetings were attended by a commendable degree of unanimity. It fell to the principal officers to contract with the shipmasters and the stevedores, and it is to the credit of all parties that the negotiations were usually conducted amicably.

The term "Benevolent" in the Society's title signified its earliest objective. It provided a number of modest benefits, including accident coverage and burial expenses. These varied; at one time, the Society paid \$6.00 a week for a period of thirteen weeks to a member injured on ship board. Such benefits came entirely from fees, which at the start were very low, 25 cents a month for six months of the year. Fees were collected monthly, when the treasurer issued a receipt or "ticket" which showed that the member was in good standing. At some point an initiation fee was adopted, and from this fee combined with the monthly dues,

<sup>12</sup>*Quebec Mercury*, Nov. 11, 1857 and Dec. 12, 1857.

<sup>13</sup>These names also appear as petitioners for the Act of Incorporation in 1862. The names and addresses are to be found in Cherrier's *Quebec Directory* for 1861 and 1862. It is significant that not one of the names is to be found in Robert Mackay's second directory of Quebec, 1847-8.

and fines, the charitable work of the organization was sustained. In its benevolent character, the Ship Labourers' Society looked back to a very remote period when occupational groups sought to protect their members from the age-old horrors—accident, unemployment, destitution, death.

What may be inexactly described as the trade union phase of the Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society followed upon, and probably developed from, its charitable activities. This statement is based on the sequence of the Incorporation of the Society in 1862 and the great strike of 1866. In midsummer of that year, a crisis blew up when the Society attempted to establish uniform rates of pay for various categories of work. It had the temerity to publish its new schedules, and when they were disregarded, it called a strike, or, as it was usually described by contemporaries, "a combination."<sup>14</sup> Since the Quebec press covered the episode fully, no doubt because of its novelty, we can follow events adequately. The contest resolved itself into a determined struggle of shipmasters, stevedores, and timber merchants pitted against the Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society. The immediate response of the embattled masters was to move vessels in the process of loading to Lévis, where the workers were only partially organized. The Society thereupon called a complete stoppage of work on both shores of the river, and set out to make up the Lévis labourers' minds for them. This was accomplished, and was attended by one highly dramatic incident in which the Quebec men invaded the sacred precincts of the Navy yard, actually pushing aside John Davy, the proprietor of the yard and one of the most important Quebecers of his day, in an effort to get at the scabs he employed.<sup>15</sup> By the third week in July, opposition to the strike began to collapse. The first to capitulate were, significantly, the shipmasters, who had become restive in the unrewarding role of cats' paws. In a meeting at Noonan's "Imperial Hotel," on July 23 they agreed to the Society's terms. The following day the merchants met, and, after saying rude things about the action of the skippers, accepted too. The merchants' meeting was an illuminating affair, attended by Sharples, Wilson, Ross, Dean, Bickell, and Jeffery, a veritable roll-call of the old St. Peter Street oligarchy. As outraged capitalists, the merchants were scandalized by the successful revolt of labour, and as the Quebec ruling class, they were dismayed by the defection of their allies, the shipmasters. The use to which the workers had put their bene-

<sup>14</sup>*Morning Chronicle*, July 11, 1866.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, July 14, 1866.

volent society was bitterly denounced as "not only illegal, but unreasonable," "decidedly and undeniably illegal." It was moved that parliament should be petitioned to repeal the obnoxious Act of Incorporation. Fortunately for the good sense of the gathering, the motion failed, but the men were warned sternly that "... Labour was simply a commodity, like everything else, and was regulated by the same laws. . . ." How the Ship Labourers celebrated their victory is not known; probably soberly enough, for three weeks without wages must have left them very low indeed. Throughout, they had acted with great restraint in the face of general hostility and the action of the merchants in employing bluejackets and marines as strike-breakers. The secretary of the Society, and presumably the strategist of the strike, was James Paul. He must have been unusually clear-headed and forceful to realize the commanding position his men occupied, and yet to restrain them till success was won.

At a later time, the Society enlarged its objectives by refusing to use steam-driven machinery in handling certain types of freight, and by stipulating the number of men to be employed on a given job. This produced violent reactions among the shippers, and an angry discharge of letters from the Harbour Commissioners and the Board of Trade. They protested against interference in the conduct of "their" business, and solemnly warned the Ship Labourers' Society that it was ruining the trade of the port of Quebec. The controversy was still acute when the Royal Commission took evidence in 1888. It received a number of briefs denouncing the restrictive practices, so-called, of the longshoremen. Much of the evidence was quite irrelevant, such as the rodomontade of the egregious Narcisse Rosa, who was cut off, characteristically, by the indignant chairman. In its heyday, the Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society was a distinctly formidable body, with a membership of over two thousand, 95 per cent of which, it was alleged, was Irish. This period corresponded pretty accurately with the last prosperous phase of the export of square timber, from 1860 to about 1873.<sup>16</sup> In order to facilitate the collection of dues, as well as for other reasons, the Society was divided into five sections, Diamond Harbour, New Liverpool, Indian Cove, St. Saveur, and St. Roch. The general place of meeting was the old Temperance Hall, which stood on the site of the modern Palais Station.<sup>17</sup> The choice of the Hall reflected, no doubt, the varied purposes of the Society. Its central location recommended

<sup>16</sup>A. R. M. Lower, *The Trade in Square Timber* (Toronto, 1933), 60, diagram 5.

<sup>17</sup>G. H. Cherrier, *Quebec Directory for Year Ending 1878* (Quebec, 1879), 120.

it as the convenient headquarters of a powerful trade union, while the name recalled the ideal of self-help out of which the Society had arisen.

These prosperous days were symbolized by the great mid-summer parades, which were such a feature of Quebec life. They were held on July 23, the anniversary of the foundation of the Society. The place of assembly was the Mariners' Chapel,<sup>18</sup> whence the marchers ("four deep"), perambulated the Lower Town, climbed Palais or Mountain hills, made a circuit of the Upper Town, and so back to the coves by way of the Plains. That was quite a step, approximately eight miles, and two directives of the Society made it even more spartan. Members who did not walk were fined, and members who sought to refresh themselves at taverns *en route*, or who fell in refreshed, were fined and might be expelled. The parade was punctuated by bands and was garnished with flags and banners. The great banner of the Society was a splendid affair, bearing the representation of a ship in the process of being loaded, and carrying the motto, "We support our infirm; We bury our dead." The marchers were dressed in their best clothes, and their appearance was further enhanced by cockades and cascades of rosettes of various colours. The townsfolk replied in kind: for example, in 1873 one of them hid his house behind "... a colossal figure of Marshal MacMahon ... dressed in the Sarsfield uniform," a triumph, surely, of decoration and diplomacy. An agreeable feature of the march was the serenades "dispensed" to friends and well-wishers of the Society. The proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle* was one such, and, at various times was regaled by a "bouquet of lively tunes," "Should auld Acquaintance be Forgot," and "The Rising of the Moon."

In its relations with other bodies of organized workers, the Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society was usually happy. Until the late seventies, the division of labour on "racial" lines, which made ship-building French Canadian and longshoring Irish, held good. As ship-building declined, however, the French Canadians were forced into what had been the Irish workers' preserve. Some of them entered the Society; others set up an organization of their own, L'Union Canadienne. Friction rapidly developed on both counts. Within the old Ship Labourers' Society, jealousy flared up when the French-Canadian members sought to secure

<sup>18</sup>The Mariners' Chapel, dedicated to St. Paul, was consecrated by Bishop Charles James Stuart in 1832. It was expropriated for railway extension about a century later. Its demolition removed virtually the last trace of the remarkable community which centred on the Quebec timber coves.

a political influence and a division of work such as their numbers warranted. With L'Union Canadienne, the crisis mounted, culminating in sanguinary rioting in the summers of 1878 and 1879. In August of the latter year, a miniature pitched battle took place in Champlain Street, which the Ship Labourers' barricaded and defended with cannon. The *Canadian Illustrated News* featured several spirited cuts picturing the clash, the French-Canadian longshoremen, some in top hats (a most awkward headgear to wear to a riot), defending their banner from the more functionally attired Irish.<sup>19</sup> Peace was patched up between the two organizations, and the Ship Labourers' turned to the more delicate task of accommodating their own French-Canadian members. This was effected by the adoption of a by-law which provided for the employment of an equal number of French-speaking and English-speaking workers on a job. Thus the old Society was transformed from a virtually exclusive Irish-Canadian organization. In the same period, the Ship Labourers' Society evaded the embrace of the Knights of Labor. The Knights were highly thought of in Quebec, until Cardinal Taschereau turned his back on them, and they were fortified by visits from T. V. Powderly, the grand master workman. Attempts were made to organize the Ship Labourers by having them individually become Knights. Despite Powderly's great personal popularity ("he was a grand man"), the effort failed. Pride in their own achievement, and a sturdy sense of independence rallied the longshoremen. Significantly, the break came when apostatizing Ship Labourers began addressing each other in the Society's meetings as "Brother."

The later history of the Society is one of increasing quiet. The decline of the trade in square timber, and the eclipse of the port of Quebec were body blows. They were accompanied by the draining away of the Irish population itself. The Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society, however, continued, and continues, although largely French Canadian in personnel. Time has wrought curious inversions. The by-law requiring equal representation of the French and Irish, originally conceived in justice to the French-Canadian minority, now operates in favour of the English-speaking longshoreman. The quotation from Lever at the head of this study epitomizes a role all too frequently assigned to the Irish worker. The history of the Quebec Ship Labourers' Benevolent Society presents another—his genius in forming a mutually-beneficial association, and his skill in maintaining it.

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<sup>19</sup>*Canadian Illustrated News*, Aug. 30, 1879, 136 and 144.

## REVIEW ARTICLE

### CANADA AND COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS\*

THESE books deal with a wide range of subjects, relating in the main to post-war conditions in various parts of the Empire and Commonwealth. They vary greatly in quality and in their intrinsic interest and importance. Most of them will probably appeal to a very limited group of readers, although a number of them, including the comprehensive account of life in the Dominions and in the dependent empire edited by Mr. Bolitho, have been written with the evident intention of awakening the English people to a sense of its imperial responsibility and of the value of its imperial heritage.

Among the more definitely historical studies are two volumes on India and South Africa from Hutchinson's new University Library series. Fifteen volumes are planned in this series on British Empire history under the general editorship of Sir Reginald Coupland; and if the series may be judged by these volumes, there will be no doubt of its interest and its value. These two books, together with Mr. Lipson's constitutional history of New Zealand, under the title of *Politics of Equality*, and Mr. Ward's admirable study of British policy in the South Pacific, form solid contributions to the history of important regions within the Empire. Of some of the others less might be said; but taken together these books present a fairly comprehensive survey of social, political, and economic conditions in almost every part of the Empire, and of the manifold problems which war has left in its train.

In Mr. Hodson's volume on the *Twentieth-Century Empire* the emphasis is solidly on the problem of defence. Indeed, as the author judges the present situation, this is the one problem which transcends and virtually includes all others, and to which the peoples of Great Britain and the Dominions must give immediate and unwavering attention. In form the book is a survey, often a very shrewd and illuminating survey, of developments within the Commonwealth and Empire during the past quarter of a century. In its essence it is an appeal for union as the only certain and practicable method of avoiding a repetition of past errors, and of meeting the real and imminent danger with which the peoples of the Commonwealth, in common with all free peoples, are now threatened. It is based upon a realistic analysis of Britain's present strategic position, and upon an assumption, stated rather than proved, that the Empire of the pre-war era has passed away irretrievably, and that its passing has created a situation which calls for new and unprecedented methods.

Much of what Mr. Hodson says on these subjects will win the ready assent of most of his readers. Yet the solution which he proposes is neither very new nor very original. It is in substance a scheme of uniting Great Britain, the Dominions, and India within the framework of an institution variously described as a Commonwealth Parliament or Commonwealth Council. There is a certain lack of precision in the use of these terms, and it is not always clear which of the two institutions the author has in mind, or whether he has in fact worked out the difference between them. The plan is supported by some novel arguments con-

\*This is the nineteenth annual review article published by the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW on this subject. For the bibliography of this article see page 354. The REVIEW also publishes in each issue a list of recent publications on Canada's relations within the Empire (see p. 365).



cerning the mathematical basis of representation, and Mr. Hodson is at some pains to demonstrate the great influence which an organized minority could exercise in such an assembly. But in all essentials the plan resembles that suggested by Mr. John Curtin a few years ago, and it differs but little from similar proposals made by Sir Edward Grigg and other writers during the past decade.

With Mr. Hodson's criticism of the uncertain and ineffectual policies of the Commonwealth nations during the years of Hitler's ascendancy there will be no disagreement; but it does not follow that his plan of union is the solution. His strictures on the unrealistic and short-sighted policy of the Dominions would carry greater conviction if they were accompanied by a corresponding discussion of the policies adopted by the British government and supported by the British public during the same period. It was not alone in the Dominions during those fateful years that decisions on vital questions of national security were taken "on grounds of popularity with the electorate, or with reference to other demands on budgets and man power."

To emphasize this portion of Mr. Hodson's book may create a misleading impression. Its true value lies in the realistic appraisal of Britain's present position, and in the many wise and penetrating observations on developments within the Commonwealth and Empire during the past generation. On the reality of their independence, to which the Dominions attach so much importance, Mr. Hodson has some doubts. No country is truly independent, he observes, "which fails to contribute its just share to the system of defense upon which its security depends." The criticism implied in that remark is directed primarily, but not exclusively, towards Canada, where, the author believes, the policy of no specific commitments has become almost an article of national faith.

Mr. Hodson has little confidence in any scheme of international co-operation that has been, or is likely to be adopted. He is convinced that the maintenance of peace depends upon Britain's ability to resume her historic task of holding the balance in Europe and preventing the domination of the continent by Russia. Friendship and co-operation with the United States are indispensable; but beyond that, if Britain is to perform this essential task, it is necessary that she should be able to rely upon the constant and assured support of every part of the Commonwealth. For Britain there is no alternative between regaining her position as a great power or sinking to a position of complete impotence; and the impotence of Britain means the surrender of Europe to the forces dominated by Moscow. The reasoning is cogent and the illustrations are apt; but all the argument ends in the same conclusion, that an institutional union of the type here sketched is the only safe and practicable method of meeting this new and perilous situation; and it is at that point that many of Mr. Hodson's readers will begin to doubt. In fairness it should be noted that the book was written before the signing of the North Atlantic Pact; and it is possible that this event, together with the recent settlement defining India's relations with the nations of the Commonwealth, would induce some change in the author's opinions.

The same subject matter is dealt with from a very different point of view in Professor Mansergh's volume on *The Commonwealth and the Nations*. Mr. Hodson writes from what might be described as a moderately conservative English point of view. Professor Mansergh's work is influenced by his long and fruitful study of the relations between Great Britain and Ireland during the past half-century. He has none of Mr. Hodson's faith in the value, or in the feasibility of union; and he is not greatly disturbed by recent developments within the Commonwealth, in which so many English writers see signs of imminent dissolution. "The Com-



monwealth," he observes, "has reached its present state by following the principle of decentralisation to its logical conclusion"; and he is convinced that nothing would be gained, and that on the contrary, much that is of the highest value would be imperiled by abandoning that principle in favour of any form of union that has been, or is likely to be proposed.

The emphasis here is rather on the Dominions and on the part which they are likely to play in formulating and carrying out policies that are of interest and concern to the Commonwealth as a whole. A substantial part of the book is given to a survey of recent political and economic developments in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and to the influence which such developments have had on the policies of those countries. There is perhaps very little in this survey that is strikingly original; but in each case the author presents a remarkably clear and succinct account of the changes which the war has produced; and from it all he draws some interesting conclusions. The loss of economic power in Great Britain has, he believes, been fully offset by corresponding gains in Canada, Australia, and elsewhere. There has been some redistribution, but probably no loss in the Commonwealth as a whole; and this change he regards as probably beneficial.

"What is now required," says Professor Mansergh, in one of the most realistic passages of this book, "is a redistribution of responsibilities in relation to the capacity to bear them"; and he sees in some recent developments in the Pacific, and in the interpretation put upon these by Mr. Evatt, evidence of the capacity and of the willingness of some of the Dominions to assume such responsibilities. The practice of entrusting the execution of agreed Commonwealth policies to what Mr. Evatt has called "a chosen Dominion instrumentality" has not yet become very general; but some instances are here recorded, and the author evidently agrees with the Australian minister that the procedure has great possibilities for the future.

In his final chapters Professor Mansergh returns to a field in which his scholarship has already been demonstrated, and discusses the record of Anglo-Irish relations since 1921, and the possible value of the Irish concept of "external association" as an alternative to "dominion status" in circumstances where the latter concept seems inappropriate. These chapters were of course written before the meeting of the prime ministers in April, 1949, at which India's relations with the Commonwealth were defined; and in the light of the agreement then reached, they take on an added interest. Professor Mansergh recognizes that, under modern conditions, there is little real difference between the two concepts; but he does not agree that external association is a mere colourless compromise. It is, he believes, "a practical via media between dominion status and a treaty relationship,—a positive answer to a certain set of circumstances." And the adoption of the formula affirming "India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of its independent members" lends some support to this interpretation. What the future will be under these new conditions cannot be foreseen. But when the history of these transactions is written it may be necessary to record the curious paradox that Mr. De Valera has suggested the solution of one of the gravest problems of the twentieth-century Commonwealth.

The volume edited by Mr. Bolitho deals with the problems of empire on a different level. It consists of a series of essays outlining the history, and describing present conditions in all the dominions and dependencies. Many of these are vivid, most of them are well informed studies of the regions with which they deal;

and if the ignorance of the British public—here complained of at rather wearisome length—is not wholly invincible, this book should do much to enlighten people on life and its problems in all parts of the Empire. Even for those who have some knowledge of the subject, there is a great deal here that can be read with interest and with profit. One of the attractive features of the book is the large number of excellent photographs with which the text is supplemented.

Where so many have contributed, there is necessarily some variation in the quality of the work. Mr. Eggleston's chapter on Canada is one of the best in the book. In the very limited space allowed him he presents an admirably clear and precise account of the varied life of the Dominion in peace and war during the past generation. There is a good chapter also on what is now the tenth province, although it will be observed that the writer's powers of description exceed his gifts of political prophecy. It is strange at this date to read that the project of union with Canada is favoured only by a small clique, and that the people of Newfoundland will not give it a moment's consideration. The essays on Australia and New Zealand emphasize the social democracies that these countries have developed, and the marked change, particularly in the development of industry, that has resulted from the war.

The colonial empire offers a more diversified field of study. Some of the essays on these regions are admirable pieces of descriptive writing. In others, notably Mr. Pope Hennessy's chapter on the West Indies, the emphasis is more directly on current social and economic problems. In almost every case the discussion of such problems is on a high level. There is a certain amount of indiscriminate censure, but in general the criticism is sound and constructive; and the peoples of the dependencies have here a group of able and sincere advocates. Some dark spots are revealed, but this survey makes it clear that the Empire is far from being the moribund institution which many people imagine. The editor's historical introduction is adequate, but it is unnecessarily discursive, and his slightly emotional view of the indulgent parent handing out the latch-keys to the younger members of the family as they attain maturity does not greatly aid to an understanding of how the Empire-Commonwealth has actually developed, or of what it is at the present time.

In all three of these books the recent changes in India are discussed at some length. Mr. Hodson, who acted as a constitutional adviser to the government of that country during a great part of the war, presents a somewhat depressing picture of the situation at the moment of the British withdrawal. The Indian people were, in his judgment, wholly unprepared for the responsibilities which they must now assume, and this he attributes directly to the short-sightedness of the British government during the past thirty years. On many points his criticism is no doubt justified, notably on the failure of the government to anticipate the change and to train a class of civil rulers and military officers. But his prediction that the difficulties would increase rather than diminish has not been borne out; and some other writers who speak with equal authority take a more optimistic view.

Among these Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee is the most distinguished. His volume on *The New India* is perhaps the most illuminating book of the kind that has yet been published. Its value lies, not only in the clarity and precision with which the author describes the present situation, but in his balanced judgment on the achievements of British rule which have been of benefit to the Indian people, and which are likely to endure. Very little space is given to political issues, although there are occasional passages which have a bearing upon such questions.

The author believes, for example, that one effect of British administration in the provinces has been to create a feeling of common interest, and to develop a strong sense of provincial patriotism which may have some influence on the form of government eventually to be adopted. But in the main Sir Atul is concerned with present social and economic conditions, and with the means that must be adopted to increase the productive capacity of the Indian people, in agriculture and in industry, to raise the general standard of living, to extend the benefits of education, and to deal with the manifold problems resulting from the complex nature of Indian society.

The book is concerned with a "New India," but it is evident that, in many important spheres, the author anticipates no very drastic change. He believes that the system of district administration developed under British rule is likely to remain very much as it has been. That system is, in his judgment, admirably suited to the conditions of Indian society; and, although greatly enlarged and improved by British officials, it is in line with earlier forms of administration developed under native rulers. Similarly he foresees no great change in the system of criminal law. He dissents from the view of so many of his countrymen that the British introduced an intricate, alien system, wholly unsuited to the needs of the Indian people; and he points out that, without pressure or persuasion, the British code has been adopted in all the important native states. These are solid foundations for the new order; and in these fields at least Sir Atul is convinced that British rule has produced results that will be of no small advantage to the rulers of the Republic.

The picture of Indian economic life is, in most particulars, similar to that in many other books on the subject. It is not a cheerful picture, and the author is not disposed to under-state the difficulties, or to assume, as so many of his countrymen have done, that these are due solely to the selfishness or the negligence of British rulers. But on the whole, he writes with cautious optimism. The basic requirement is a marked per capita increase of production, both in agriculture and in the varied forms of manufacturing industry for which the country possesses natural resources. In the latter field he anticipates a fairly rapid expansion. In agriculture, which must remain the occupation of the great majority of the Indian people, the obstacles are more formidable, and progress will be slow. There is here no suggestion of an easy formula for success; but the author evidently believes that the country possesses all the resources that are required, and that the Indian people under intelligent leadership can find the means of solving this difficult problem without anything in the nature of a catastrophe.

Two other books, one by an American, the other by an English scholar, deal more directly with the history of India. Mr. Wallbank's little volume in the Berkshire series of college texts is a brief summary of events and trends, especially during the past sixty or seventy years, which have a bearing on the present situation. It is described as an interpretative analysis; but the limitations of space allow of very little interpretation, and the book is little more than a simple catalogue of facts. For its purpose it is no doubt a useful introduction, and its value is enhanced by a good bibliography of standard works. But it is a very meagre statement of a large and difficult subject, and it is written in a manner that is not likely to arouse much enthusiasm among its readers.

Mr. Philips's volume in Hutchinson's University Library is a more ambitious, and on the whole a more successful, effort. It possesses a literary quality which the other lacks, and it is clearly the work of a scholar who can draw upon a large reserve of detailed knowledge to illumine his narrative. That is especially true

of the section dealing with government under the Company, on which the author has already written an excellent monograph. In substance the book is a short history of India under British rule. The earlier period is disposed of in one short chapter, intended merely "to identify the political legacies of Hindu and Muslim India." That procedure is no doubt dictated by the purpose of the book; but it is unfortunate that space could not have been made for some discussion of the traditional culture of the Indian people, which the author evidently regards as extremely important, and to which constant reference is made in later passages.

Mr. Philips writes with unusual detachment, and his judgments on men and events are for that reason the more noteworthy. The rule of the Company was, in his opinion, a sincere, and within limits, a successful attempt to apply the principle of trusteeship, which might in time develop into a real partnership between ruler and ruled. But its efficacy was impaired by the inability of most British statesmen to appreciate what was of value in Indian institutions, by the abandonment of Warren Hastings's statesmanlike plan for fusing British with Indian forms of government and by the hostile or scornful attitude of leading Evangelicals and Liberals towards every aspect of Indian culture. He is severe in his criticism of such men as Wilberforce and Macaulay, whose outspoken contempt for everything Indian helped to create that attitude of ignorant indifference which has been a source of weakness throughout the whole period of British rule.

The later chapters are an illuminating commentary on the growth of Indian nationalism, and on the methods by which the government endeavoured to reconcile this strange new phenomenon with their traditional ideas of how India should be governed. Like many other writers Mr. Philips believes that "to strive to apply the English parliamentary system in India was to attempt the impossible." But he does not suggest any alternative; and, like some others who have made this criticism, he fails to note that this was precisely what the Indian reformers were themselves seeking to do. The difficulties arose, as the author clearly indicates in many other passages, not from the system that was being attempted, but from the lack of any well conceived design, and from the failure or inability to adopt methods suited to the conditions of Indian life. That failure was due in large measure to the position in which the government found itself as a result of its past history. "In India," says Mr. Philips, "power confined, rather than corrupted the British." In the circumstances, efficiency, even as Lord Curzon understood it, was not enough. Isolation inevitably produced the uncertainty and perplexity that were evident in every critical juncture of the past half-century.

This chapter of imperial history will gain rather than lose in interest as India and Pakistan settle their constitutional difficulties and equip themselves to deal with the problems that lie ahead. As an introduction to the subject, there are few better books than this. In a very limited space the author has managed to compress an immense amount of relevant detail; and his narrative, written with vigour and clarity, is accompanied by comment and criticism that are always pertinent and often challenging.

The other volume in this series, written by Mr. Keppel-Jones, deals with the history of the European settlement in South Africa from the establishment of the "Half-Way House" by the Netherlands East India Company in the seventeenth century to the fall of the Hertzog ministry in 1939. In a brief epilogue the author summarizes the course of events during the war and brings the story down to the general election in 1948. This is more in the nature of a straightforward chronological narrative than Mr. Philips's book. Relatively more space is given to the

early history, and the record of development from the first settlements to the Great Trek is one of the best sections of the book. But interest centres mainly on the critical years that were dominated by such men as Rhodes, Hofmeyr, Kruger, and Milner, from the opening up of the diamond fields through the struggle which culminated in the Union.

This is a difficult and complex chapter in imperial and in South African history. It bristles with unanswered questions, and it has left legacies of bitterness and hostility that are still with the people of the Union. Mr. Keppel-Jones probably adds little to the story that has not already been told. But in the chapters given to this period he has written as clear and direct a narrative as could be desired; and his judgment on such men as Kruger and Rhodes is always fair and moderate.

The later history is dominated by the struggle between the rival forces represented by Smuts and Hertzog. Constitutional issues are discussed at some length, but the emphasis is rather on domestic questions, in particular on the problem of the relations between the European and the native populations. No solution can be suggested; but the problem is analysed in all its bewildering perplexity, and it is plain that the author has no sympathy with the methods adopted by Hertzog and his successors. He says less about the relations of some of Hertzog's ministers with the German government before the war than has been recorded in some other books; but he says enough to indicate the dangerous situation that existed in 1939. This is not always an exhilarating book; but it is a good piece of narrative history, and, together with Mr. Phillips's book, it more than justifies the publisher's plan of presenting the history of various parts of the Empire in this form.

The history of Australia is related on much the same scale in Mr. Fitzpatrick's little volume on *The Australian People*. The object, as stated by the author, is "to present a picture of Australia as the Australians have made it in successive phases since the first settlements"; and there are here many of the elements of an unusually vivid picture. But the value of the book is somewhat impaired by its curious plan of organization; and the reader's interest is lessened by unnecessary repetition and by a good deal of careless writing. An opening section entitled "Perspective," summarizes the history of the various settlements and of the later Commonwealth, from the eighteenth century to the present time. A second, under the name of "Process," deals in more detail with economic development. In the final section, comprising the greater part of the book, attention is focused on political and constitutional issues before and after the formation of the federal government. The book is written with enthusiasm, and the author's pithy comments on contemporary politics, together with some clever sketches of leading personalities in Australian history, give it a real interest. But it leaves the impression of having been written in great haste, and it has some defects which, with greater care, might have been eliminated.

Mr. Rawson deals at greater length with the contemporary scene in Australia and the Pacific. There have been many books of the kind from Australian publicists in the past few years, and this one does not differ materially from its predecessors. It is the work of a conservative, which in Australian politics clearly does not mean a Tory; and the author is perhaps more critical of some of the country's cherished institutions and traditional policies than are many of his compatriots. The subject matter is divided about equally between the country's internal and external problems, although there can be no sharp distinction between these. The war has left Australia in a potentially favourable position. There has been a great expansion of industry, and the country is well equipped to take

advantage of the opportunity which a large market on the Asiatic mainland offers. At the same time the growth of nationalism and of other ideologies in some of the densely populated countries of Asia has accentuated the danger in which this little community of Europeans finds itself. Japan is for the moment helpless; but Mr. Rawson emphasizes the simple fact that Japan has eighty million people in a few crowded islands, while Australia has eight million people in an undeveloped continent. The danger latent in that situation is likely to increase rather than diminish, and there is no easy way of meeting it. One essential is a rapid increase of population, and Mr. Rawson gives a good deal of space to a discussion of this question and of the many difficulties with which it is encumbered.

Internal problems are no less serious. The most threatening of these is the increase in the number and in the violence of industrial disputes; and this the author attributes directly to the influence of a group of trade union leaders, who have in fact established themselves as "one of the many governments in the country," and whose sympathy with communism has been all too evident in recent years. The country is equipped with an admirable system of arbitration and conciliation courts; but the efficacy of the system is being destroyed by the refusal of the unions to accept the decisions laid down in these courts. On these, and on some other points there may be some difference of opinion. But this is a serious and well informed book. It deals with problems which concern more than the people of Australia, and it deals with them in a manner that will command the respect of all fair-minded readers.

Mr. Lipson's *Politics of Equality* is in essence a political and constitutional history of New Zealand since its foundation in 1840. Its purpose is to explain the development from political to social democracy, and to examine the effects of New Zealand's particular type of socialism on the traditional concept of individual liberty. Not many readers are likely to endorse the publisher's claim that it is a book of "absorbing interest." It is a useful book. It gathers up an immense wealth of detailed information on every aspect of the political and constitutional development of the country, and it presents this material in a clear and orderly way. But no one whose soul does not thrill to the minutiae of petty administration is likely to find it absorbing.

The records of political debate and of party struggle are presented here more fully than in most books; but they are not especially illuminating. The conclusions are the important thing. Mr. Lipson, who has spent several years in New Zealand, has no doubt about the reality of that country's democratic life. "The advent of a large measure of socialism to New Zealand has not been accompanied by the demise of democracy." What is revealed here does not differ in principle from the social service state that has become the norm in most democratic communities. The passion for social justice and the determination to eliminate every vestige of class privilege are more evident; but it is largely a matter of emphasis.

"To the people of this Dominion," says Mr. Lipson, "Equality comes first, and it is within its content that liberty has been redefined." The new definition does not differ greatly from the old; and, apart from a great deal of detail, some of it useful, some of it rather tedious, Mr. Lipson adds little to what New Zealand historians have themselves written on the subject. The book is one of the most scholarly studies of the subject that has been written, and the detailed evidence which it contains will be helpful to a few experts. But it would be more serviceable to the general public if it were about half its length, and if the author had omitted some of the detail and had avoided the wearisome repetition which so often clogs his narrative.



To these books on Australia and New Zealand, Mr. Ward's study of the growth of British policy in the South Pacific during the nineteenth century forms a fitting complement. The book is described in Dr. Roberts's foreword as exploratory rather than definitive, and this is no doubt a fair description. The subject is too large, and it appears to have too many ramifications to be fully dealt with in a single volume. But this is probably the most complete and most scholarly account of the subject that has yet been written; and those who come after him will almost certainly follow in the lines that Mr. Ward has here laid down.

This is not a history of the islands. There is of necessity some discussion of developments in particular islands or groups; but the purpose is to explain the change in British policy, from the strict non-intervention in the years following the first settlements in Australia, to the establishment of a fairly developed system of colonial administration at the end of the century. Many causes combined to produce this change: the activities of missionaries and their friends in England, the rapid expansion of trade, licit and illicit, the weakening or breakdown of native government, the entry of other European powers into the region; these and similar causes compelled the home government to alter its policy and to adopt one expedient after another, culminating in the establishment of the South Pacific Commission in 1893.

Through it all runs the persistent demand of the Australians for intervention, and ever more intervention. Many of them would be content with nothing less than the annexation of the whole region by Great Britain. Others, and among these was the vociferous parson Mr. Lang, seem to have been more immediately concerned with excluding the French and the Catholic missionaries who worked under French protection. The unwillingness of the British government to heed his demands led Mr. Lang to propose to the German powers at Frankfurt in 1848 that they should take possession of the islands. In the circumstances they were not in a position to do so; but it is interesting to speculate on what the result might have been if the advice of this ardent Evangelical had been followed.

To many of those whose activities are related by Mr. Ward the colonial office in the nineteenth century seemed to be little more than an obstacle to progress; and there were no doubt others who shared their view. It is a very different type of institution that is depicted in Sir Cosmo Parkinson's little volume on *The Colonial Office from Within*. The book is not intended to be a history of the Office, although it contains a good deal that would be useful for that purpose. It is an illuminating, and often an amusing, account of the way in which this department now performs the multifarious duties which fall to its lot. It describes some of the changes in the organization of the office during the past forty years, the variety of tasks on which it is constantly engaged, the new relationships that have developed between the office and the colonial governments, and many other things that are essential to an understanding of how Mr. Mother-Country now deals with the bewildering array of problems that are constantly arising in the colonial empire. There is little here for the expert in search of the details of administration. There is much that can be read with profit by those who believe that the rule of dependencies is always and inevitably a system of exploitation directed by a dehumanized bureaucracy.

In the series of lectures on *Colonial Administration* published by the Institute of International Affairs, the methods and objectives of the various European powers which still rule over dependent areas in Africa and elsewhere are explained by representatives of their colonial offices. These are brief statements, confined in the main to general principles; but they provide material for some interesting



comparisons. There is no great difference in the professed ends of these governments. Although defined in different terms and applied in different ways, the principle of "trusteeship" is accepted by all. Lord Hailey's paper on British administration is a clear and concise account of the manner in which the new principles are being applied in some of the more advanced African communities. In most of the others there is less emphasis on the element of political training.

A much more detailed study of this question of colonial administration, of the principles upon which the ruling powers have acted, and of the effects of their methods of rule upon two eastern communities is supplied in Mr. Furnivall's volume on Burma and Indonesia. The author has already published a number of books on related subjects, and this one is clearly the result of long research. There may be more comprehensive books by Dutch scholars on the government of the Netherlands Indies. There are few more satisfactory accounts of British rule in Burma. Space does not permit consideration of this book on the scale which it merits. It is enough to say here that it explains with a wealth of illustration the growth of institutions, the changes in administrative methods induced by changing views of colonial government among the ruling peoples, the manner in which planted institutions were, or were not, adapted to indigenous forms and customs, and the effect which all this had upon the lives of the people of these two communities. There appears to be very little that has escaped Mr. Furnivall; and if an opinion may be ventured, this is likely to become one of the standard works on the subject. Empire, as it is here considered, has not ceased to exist; and this record of experience in two distinctive communities cannot fail to be of service to those who must deal with similar problems in the future.

Finally there is a curious volume by Mr. Winslow on *The Pattern of Imperialism*. This could be a very good book. It contains much that is relevant in any study of present world conditions: but its value is impaired by the author's discursiveness and by obscurity and repetition which at times make it simply tedious. Mr. Winslow is convinced that, unless effective means of checking it are discovered, modern imperialism must continue in its course until it ends in the subjection of the entire world to one great power. He has a solution, but one which, in the light of the elaborate discussion which precedes it, seems of doubtful efficacy.

The central theme is that modern imperialism is not identified with capitalism, or with any other form of economic organization. "It represents such an old and powerful behaviour pattern that it is able to dominate any economic system, capitalist or collectivist, and use them for its own purposes." This is supported by an examination of the literature of imperialism and war throughout western Europe during the past three centuries. The author draws a clear distinction between imperialism, which involves conquest and domination, and colonialism, which is illustrated by the peaceful settlement of European peoples in other parts of the world. He is convinced that no form of world organization that has been proposed can check the growth of modern imperialism. The one solution, as he sees it, is the adoption of Gandhi's technique of non-violent resistance. The argument is interesting, and it is presented with sincerity and enthusiasm; but Mr. Winslow does not stop to consider what the outcome of Gandhi's campaign would have been, had he been confronted by a genuinely militarist imperial power. Nor is he likely to persuade most of his readers that unilateral disarmament would, under present conditions, be the most certain way of guarding against the danger of world domination by one great power.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Great War for the Empire: The Victorious Years, 1758-1760.* By LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON. (The British Empire before the American Revolution, vol. VII.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xlviii, 467, xxxvi. (\$7.50)

THIS is the seventh volume of one of the greatest historical works written by any American scholar, and the second devoted by Professor Gipson to the climactic struggle which he has so aptly renamed *The Great War for the Empire*. Because war-time conditions of publication limited the size of his last volume, *The Years of Defeat, 1754-1757* (reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XXVIII, 313-16), he had to hold over for inclusion in the present volume considerable material on the year 1757. Yet there is logic in this arrangement, as he philosophically observes.

The opening chapter on Pitt's accession to power is a most fitting introduction to *The Years of Victory, 1758-1760*, and the succeeding chapters on conditions and events in 1757 serve as an excellent foil for the account of the triumphs that follow. Equally satisfying is the termination of this volume with the fall of the French Empire in North America, leaving to a third volume on this world war an examination of its progress in other theatres and its conclusion in the peace treaty of 1763. Apart from the chapter on Pitt, whose "reputation as a statesman has suffered with the passing of years" but "as the leader of an embattled nation at a period of one of its gravest crises is still at a pinnacle," and another chapter on the European conflict in 1757 and 1758, showing how the reversal of Pitt's policy reversed the fortunes of war in the Old World, the whole of this volume is concerned with the war on the North American continent.

The publication of this volume makes Parkman's classic *Montcalm and Wolfe* quite obsolete, except as a piece of literature; and even as such, the writing of the Lehigh professor merits recognition along with that of the Boston Brahmin. Gipson's history of the war is longer, more comprehensive, and more critical than Parkman's; and, in addition to embodying the labours of later scholars, it utilizes the enormous mass of raw material that has become available since Parkman laid down his pen. In weighing and sifting this extensive literature and this mountain of sources, printed and manuscript, Gipson seems to have exhausted the subject without in the least exhausting himself or his readers.

The second chapter, which gives a detailed account of how hopelessly the several English colonies were facing the danger from their French and Indian foes at the close of 1757, blasts "one of the most profound misconceptions embedded in American history and tradition: that Americans felt at this critical period that with their own resources they were fully prepared and were even destined to retrieve the great misfortunes that the war during the past four years had brought to them." How could they recover the frontiers that their enemies had overrun and desolated, and how could they gain security to advance their settlements into the regions beyond? Such questions inspire an eloquent passage that gives Pitt the chief credit for supplying the answers, charges Americans of that time and their descendants with failure to recognize their incalculable debt to "this perhaps the greatest of all their benefactors," and ends by asking: "When, indeed, will this people at length free itself of that hoary distortion of the plain facts of history that would make the war that is now being described, not one entered into by the mother country primarily for the purpose of protecting the vital interests of American colonials, but rather just another episode in the history of an

aggressive, rapacious, grasping, calculating British imperialism, as Thomas Paine saw it, and as Bancroft proclaimed it to be?" This is by far the longest and strongest passage of the kind in the book, through which Gipson lets fly quite a number of arrows at the same target. Unfair attacks on him for being biased in favour of the British have left him uncowed, and this volume will probably provoke more of them.

Of the many fresh interpretations that he gives, one of the most interesting is that of Loudoun. The reputation of that much maligned commander-in-chief, which was very high when he arrived in America and sank very low before he was recalled in 1758, is at last rehabilitated. For this much credit is due to Pargellis and not a little to Gipson, who, after a thorough re-examination of the evidence, concludes that Pitt's North American strategy was inferior to Loudoun's and that Loudoun was not lacking in execution. The old and persistent belief that he conducted a cabbage-planting campaign in Halifax when he should have been capturing Louisbourg in 1757 is now an exploded myth. Nor was he in the least to blame for the loss of Fort William Henry in the same year. Webb was wholly responsible for that. He committed almost every conceivable blunder. Pitt's judgment was at fault not only when he substituted his own plans of military operations for those that Loudoun had developed, but also when he replaced Loudoun by Abercrombie. The combination of these two errors produced the disastrous failure in the attack on Ticonderoga, which need not have been quite so disastrous if Lord Howe had not been where he had no business to be.

What turned the tide of war in the West was the agreement with the Indians at the Easton conference of October, 1758, when Pennsylvania released to the Indians the trans-Appalachian lands purchased from some of them four years previously, and the red men received solemn assurances that the mountain barrier would be the legal limit of white settlement. Ironically this American treaty, which brought immense relief to the threatened English colonies, was the basis of the British post-war trans-Appalachian policy that gave mighty offence to the colonies.

Throughout the war it is noticeable that the British commanders preferred regulars to provincials for tasks that were almost certain to entail heavy casualties. The reason was not solicitude for colonial lives but the calculation that heavy colonial losses would discourage colonial volunteering. Pitt greatly stimulated the colonial war effort by new regulations for arming, provisioning, and sheltering the provincial troops "in the same manner as the regulars, all at the expense of the mother country," and elevating the status of their officers.

Some Canadians will lift their eyebrows on learning that the success of Wolfe's landing at Gabarus Bay and again at the Anse au Foulon "seems to have come as the result of misunderstanding, if not direct disobedience to his orders for a withdrawal by his subordinates." Others will look in vain for their favourite judgment on the quarrel between Vaudreuil and Montcalm, and should be convinced by Gipson's treatment of it. Not a few may wonder why such an acute student of military operations in this war should pay no attention to the charge that Murray should not have marched out of Quebec to fight and lose an unnecessary battle.

The proofreader has missed a few minor slips, but they are not worth listing in a review of a work that is so grand in conception and execution. All the congratulations upon its production should not go to the author. The publisher is to be praised for the fine bookmaking and for backing such a great scholarly enterprise.

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A. L. BURT

*Saint Ignace, Canadian Altar of Martyrdom.* By WILLIAM SHERWOOD FOX. With the collaboration of WILFRID JURY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1949. Pp. xvi, 173. (\$3.00)

*Etienne Brûlé, Immortal Scoundrel.* By J. HERBERT CRANSTON. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 144. (\$3.00)

DR. SHERWOOD FOX in his introduction says that the object of his book is to capture the interest of the ordinary reader and to "enable him to follow understandingly . . . the development of one of the most dramatic episodes in the history of the French régime in Canada" (p. x); in this object he undoubtedly succeeds. He divides his book into two parts: in the first he gives a straightforward, if somewhat sentimental, account of the French mission to Huronia that commenced with the visit of the Récollet, Father le Caron, in 1615 and ended in the evacuation on June 10, 1650 before the advance of the raiding Iroquois, of the second Fort Ste Marie on Christian Island. The second part is an excellent, readable, and scholarly account of the efforts that by 1946 resulted in establishing the exact site of the second village of St. Ignace, the spot where Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant were tortured and burnt by the Iroquois in 1649; it lies on the east bank of the Sturgeon River, on what is now known as the Hamilton farm in Tay Township. After reviewing rapidly but fairly the preliminary investigations of Fathers Chazelle (1844) and Félix Martin (1855-6), of the Honourable J. C. Taché (1860-65), of Mr. A. F. Hunter of Barrie (1899-1911), and of Father A. E. Jones, the distinguished archivist of St. Mary's College, Montreal (1898-1908), Dr. Fox gives a more detailed account of the recent efforts which met with final success. He rightly gives great credit to the continuing enthusiasm of two local men, Alphonse Arpin and T. G. Connon, and points out that it was through the latter's efforts that the University of Western Ontario became interested and that, as a result, Mr. W. J. Wintemberg of the National Museum of Canada and, after his death, Mr. Wilfrid Jury, curator of the University of Western Ontario's Museum of Indian Archeology, brought to the search all the skill and technique of the professional archaeologist. After a general survey of the site selected by Wintemberg in 1937, it needed two summers' work (1938 and 1946) to complete the excavations and establish beyond doubt that here were the scanty remains of St. Ignace. Dr. Fox is especially good in the way he examines and explains the available evidence and draws what seems to be the only possible conclusion. His words are supplemented by an excellent map, some very useful plans, and some interesting photographs; our only regret is that he has seen fit to place his notes rather inconveniently at the end of the book.

Mr. Cranston's work is of a very different character, although it is also an attempt to appeal to the ordinary reader. The trouble is that he is trying to write a book-long biography about a man of whom we know practically nothing. Brûlé's only authentically recorded words are a confession that if he dared return to France, he would be hanged; it is doubtful if he could read or write, he certainly left not a single line for posterity, and notices of him in other people's works are scanty and infrequent, for he spent most of his adult life among the Huron Indians. Mr. Cranston claims that he was a great explorer: it is true that he was the first white man to travel up the Ottawa to Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay, the first white man to see Lakes Huron, Superior, Ontario, and Erie, and possibly Lake Michigan as well, the first white man to voyage down the Susquehanna to Chesapeake Bay. But in fact he was not an explorer in the proper sense of the word, except during his first year with the Algonkians, when he reported his findings to Champlain, who had the ability to make use of them which Brûlé lacked. He was merely a

man like any other wandering Indian: he just saw these things when he was sent on an errand, or went hunting, or was taken prisoner and escaped from captivity; there is no evidence that he went exploring with any object in view, that he made any maps, or handed on exact descriptions. He was not even a *courreur-de-bois*, for he showed no special interest in the fur trade; he was just a happy-go-lucky adventurer, who finally got murdered for his pains.

Both Dr. Fox and Mr. Cranston are on rather uncertain ground when they leave Huronia. Dr. Fox puts a quite fictitious Sir William Kirke in command of the English at Quebec in 1629, and declares that he at once expelled the Récollets and the Jesuits (p. 12): in fact it was one of the terms made by Champlain that they should be given transport back to France; also the English ship which drove the Jesuits from Mount Desert can hardly be called a pirate (p. 2). Mr. Cranston forgets that there was no tricolour flag in France in 1534 (p. 7) and that de Lesseps did not succeed in cutting the Panama Canal (p. 8); Kirke did not come to Quebec in 1628, he merely sent a message there (p. 104); the English were not the allies of the Iroquois in the early seventeenth century (p. 126); the pamphlet of 1626 was "Au Roy sur la Nouvelle France," not "Au Royal" (p. xiii). Even on his own ground, Huronia, Mr. Cranston is not always a safe guide, largely because he has to use too much imagination to fill in the gaps in his story. There is no evidence that Brulé could pilot anything up the St. Lawrence (pp. 5, 104), or that he went up the Saguenay (p. 13), or that he was with Champlain on the 1609 journey up the Richelieu (pp. 18-20); chapter 7 on de Vignau (pp. 40-45) has nothing to do with Brulé; the Hurons and Algonkians are several times confused, for example, Brulé's first journey in 1610 was with the Algonkian chief Iroquet, not with the Hurons (p. 46); finally, Huron houses were rarely, if ever, 200 feet long; 100 feet was usually the greatest length, and they housed about twenty-five, not fifty families (p. 54). This book is more a good piece of journalism than a historic work.

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*The Territorial Papers of the United States.* Vol. XIII. *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806.* Vol. XVI. *The Territory of Illinois, 1809-1814.* Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1948; 1948. Pp. xi, 641; xi, 506. (\$3.50; \$3.25)

THE editorial work on these volumes maintains the high level of volumes X and XI of the series, already reviewed (C.H.R., XXIV, Dec., 1943, 422-3; XXV, Sept., 1944, 324-5). There is also a similarity of pattern in other respects: the chronological arrangement of the material—except for the enclosures; the division of the text into sections corresponding to the successive administrations of the territory concerned; the exclusion of editorial comment and the generous supply of footnotes and references, together with 127 pages of carefully prepared indices. As in the volumes already reviewed, documents dealing with administrative problems form the largest and most important group. They were taken from several repositories; every relevant document in the files of the Department of State, of the Post Office Department, and of both Houses of Congress are included, except those already published.

Both Louisiana-Missouri and Illinois had certain major problems in common: the land question and Indian relations, defence, and the presence of the ubiquitous

British agents and Canadian traders. The first two occupied more of the attention of local officials than any other set of events, though the others are by no means neglected. Both territories had ancient land claims, civil and military, whether in Louisiana dating from Spanish and French administrations, or in Illinois from the period of the North-West Territory. Many of these claims were unlocated and unsurveyed, and to add to the confusion, "a whole phalanx of fraudulent speculators" had staked out claims. In such a welter of conflicting claims, *bona fide* settlers refused to purchase and, impatient of delays, squatted as chance or choice dictated. Students of the land question are warned that the documents included in these two volumes are intended only as supplements to those already in print. The citation of these published papers and of unpublished sources will greatly facilitate the use of the documents bearing on the issue in question.

Since Indian relations transcended territorial boundaries, no attempt is made in these volumes at an exhaustive documentation of Indian affairs, either in their political or commercial aspects. Those included, therefore, are very carefully selected, in order to bring out the problems peculiar to each territory. Running through these documents, like a sad refrain, are reports of Indian resentment against the United States; of hungry tribes eager for war; of terrified frontier communities demanding protection of hostile concentrations of the tribes under Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet. It is not surprising that bad blood should exist between the white man and the red. Between 1795 and 1810, Indians, plentifully supplied with whisky by unprincipled frontiersmen, made nine concessions of territory amounting to 50 million acres, before they rose in desperation and turned upon their despoilers in 1812.

Governor Harrison and the settlers are unanimous in maintaining that Britain and Canada were primarily responsible for the Indian War; "... the savage allies of His Britannic Majesty." Canadian traders are accused of seeking a monopoly of Indian trade in both territories, of bribing the natives with arms and ammunition and plausible promises of British protection, and of poisoning their minds against the United States. Partial explanation for this is found in the fact that "The Illinois country was anciently and almost exclusively inhabited by Frenchmen from Canada, who married Indian women," and that for thirty years thousands of Indians had come to Prairie du Chien for merchandise shipped from Montreal, while "... with few exceptions the people of Louisiana are merely hunters and caterers for the English-Canadian who reaped the benefit of the fur trade." Readers of Meriwether Lewis's Report of his transcontinental journey to the Pacific (1803-6) will recall the glowing terms in which he describes the rich potentialities of the fur trade of the whole region.

It is generally conceded that British agents were active in encouraging Indian resistance to the United States: "Robert Dickson, a British subject . . . is perhaps the most influential man in the Indian country. . . ." In 1813, he is reported to be the bearer of a belt of wampum sent from the Great Father (King of England) to the Sioux, with a promise to supply all their wants in the event of being involved in a war against the United States. This is not an isolated incident.

The capacity to believe what we want to believe is almost infinite and shared by most of us. Canadian traders and British agents may not have been angels of discretion; but while the "Warhawks" of the west, in control of Congress, were demanding war in order to crush Indian resistance, and their leader, Henry Clay, was telling Congress in 1810 that "The conquest of Canada is in your power," enough tinder was ready at hand for the spark. The Indian war was primarily a



conflict between advancing whites and natives hopelessly struggling for their ancient patrimony.

These volumes are indispensable for any critical study of the history of those times.

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*The Arthur Papers: Being the Papers Mainly Confidential, Private, and Demi-official of Sir George Arthur, K.C.H., Last Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, in the Manuscript Collection of the Toronto Public Libraries.* Edited by CHARLES R. SANDERSON. Parts II and III. Toronto: Toronto Public Libraries and University of Toronto Press. 1947; 1949. Pp. 241-488; 264. (\$1.00 each)

THE papers of Sir George Arthur, which were acquired by the Toronto Public Library in England some years ago, are being printed in sections of about 250 pages each with the promise that when the documents have all been printed an introduction will be provided. The first section, published in 1943, was reviewed in this journal (vol. xxv, Sept., 1944, 321-3). It contained 268 separate documents, covering roughly the first four months of Sir George Arthur's term in Upper Canada. Part II (1947) and Part III (1949) cover the period from July 20, 1838, to September 15, 1839, and provide us with 645 additional documents relating to the period.

Arthur was in Upper Canada in a sadly troubled time and he himself was a sadly troubled individual. The uprising within the provinces in 1837 had been followed by the appointment of Durham as a political physician to diagnose the ills there existing. But in the months that followed, deep internal discontent continued and on both the St. Lawrence and the Detroit River frontiers Canadian communities were menaced by the Hunter's Lodges. At the end of 1838 there were actual attempts at invasion, easily beaten off but leaving behind court martials of captured "Patriots," with subsequent executions and banishments to Van Diemen's Land.

There is such a variety of public matters appearing in these two volumes that any attempt at even a summary provides a most difficult task. The "loyal" party in Upper Canada was in the saddle in 1838, ready to resist any change that savoured in the least degree of republicanism. When hints began to come of the nature of the changes which Lord Durham would propose the conservative element was fearful. Chief Justice John Beverley Robinson was in England at the time and his letters to Arthur see nothing good in the "vile report" which Durham laid before Parliament. He tried to use his influence against the measures proposed but found the British cabinet little interested: "Ministers are full of courtesy—they listen patiently, are candid in their admissions—do not seem to doubt what you say and join with you in deploring that things are as they are—but no effort is made to overcome any real or imaginary difficulty—nor does it appear to me that the state of things in the Colonies gives any actual concern, or occupies a thought, after the conversation is ended."

There is abundant material in the two volumes under review on the border incidents of 1838-9 and on the part that was played in defence of Upper Canada by the local militia. Writing to Colborne in February, 1839, Arthur referred to the "plagues and annoyances" of calling out the militia as "beyond all expression." The militia laws were defective, the regiments most injudiciously officered, the settlers unwilling to take up arms, while disaffection and discontent were wide-

spread. There is also much material on the cases of those taken prisoner in the border raids and who were later tried by courts martial at Kingston and London. Arthur was sure that there would yet be a war between the United States and England and was troubled whether his decisions as to the number of capital punishments would delay or advance the possibility of war. Writing to Colonel W. H. Draper on December 26, 1838, he suggested that the number to be executed should be fifteen, one for every life lost in the Prescott affair. Later we find him suggesting to Colborne that the number of those to be transported to Van Diemen's Land be reduced from eighty-one to sixty-one. Colborne was opposed to this idea and the eighty-one were shipped off from Quebec in the fall of 1839 on the transport *Buffalo*.

There is little material bearing on the social conditions of the times to be found in these volumes. Political and military events predominate. There are some references to the need of immigration. Arthur preferred English and Irish immigrants rather than Scottish on the ground that the latter's form of church government "is a little too Republican for this part of the world." At the same time he deplored the "astonishing" emigration then under way from Upper Canada to the United States. He did not believe those leaving were disloyal but that they were actuated by fear. His solution was to establish military settlements.

Out of the mass of documents the character and personality of Arthur begins to emerge. Deeply serious in performance of his duties, conservative in his views of government, he had to deal with a situation that others had brought about but for the settlement of which he was responsible. He had great respect for the Church of England and for its bishops and clergy. He was most obsequious in his correspondence with clergy and was deeply grieved when St. James Church in Toronto was burned. It was his misfortune that during his whole régime he was occupied with matters arising out of the troubled political conditions and that he had no opportunity to show his abilities in a constructive way. There are many indications of his more kindly characteristics, his concern for his sons in England and for friends of earlier days.

Mr. C. R. Sanderson, chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library, who was instrumental in securing the Arthur Papers for Canada, has done a most excellent service in the careful editing and preparation of the papers for publication. Perhaps he may yet provide us with a study of Arthur. No one is better equipped to do it.

FRED LONDON

The University of Western Ontario.

*A Documentary Study of the Establishment of the Negroes in Nova Scotia between the War of 1812 and the Winning of Responsible Government.* By C. B. FER-GUSON. Under the direction of D. C. HARVEY. (Publication no. 8.) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1948. Pp. 129. (\$1.50)

THIS book, which is Publication no. 8 of the Nova Scotia Archives, was prepared under the direction of the archivist, Dr. D. C. Harvey. It meets an immediate need. Most of the Negroes in the province, some 13,000 in all, are descendants of refugee slaves who escaped from the United States during the War of 1812. For the most part these fugitives were uneducated, and lacked initiative. Their descendants have improved their condition, but their progress has been slow. Recently they have begun to realize the possibilities of adult education, and many of them are now seeking to raise their standard of living, educate their children,

and enlarge their opportunities for useful employment. A grant from the Carnegie Corporation to one of their leaders is intended to further this movement. Through Mr. Fergusson's book they may study their past as they plan for the future.

The book is divided into two parts of nearly equal length. Part I is historical. In three chapters of carefully selected material, the author tells the story of the settlement and development of the Negroes in Nova Scotia to 1848. Many refugee slaves came to the province as, or with, Loyalists, but most of them, 1,200 in all, left about 1792 to settle in Sierra Leone. Efforts to legalize slavery in the province met the opposition of public opinion and court decisions. Thus the 2,000 who came from 1812 to 1816 were free men and citizens. They were given land in the vicinity of Halifax and received government aid in supplies and medical attention. As Dr. Harvey points out, both the provincial government and the coloured people emerge from this period with considerable credit. Mr. Fergusson has done an excellent piece of research. Possibly a slight reorganization of Chapters II and III might have produced better co-ordination, but on the whole, the reviewer has no criticism to offer.

Part II consists of the statistics, letters, and documents from which the historical section was written. The names of the settlers, their land grants, and the comments of officials in London and Halifax in regard to them are of especial interest. Appendix XVI contains four useful charts. There is a good index.

Acadia University.

R. S. LONGLEY

*The Sodbusters.* By GRANT MACÉWAN. Edinburgh, Toronto, New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. n.d. Pp. 240. (\$3.00)

DEAN MACÉWAN has rendered a distinct service to the history of pioneer agriculture in western Canada by publishing these racy sketches of western farmers and cattlemen and of others who contributed to the opening of the West. The portraits are drawn from intimate experience of western life and of the men and the callings which gave it character. The substance of the book comes from the author's own experience and from talking—and listening—to many old timers from the Red River Valley to the Okanagan. Its value and charm derive from this fact; when the author writes from literary sources, as in the sketch of Palliser's work, the style is stilted and the sketch fails to illuminate its subject.

Here are to be found the great cattlemen of the West, Pat Burns, George Lane, F. D. McGregor; the great wheat breeders, Samuel Larcombe and Seager Wheeler; the learned men who brought science to the service of agriculture, Dean Rutherford and President Murray of the University of Saskatchewan; the great stock judges, Alexander Galbraith of Saskatchewan and John Barron of Manitoba; and many less known but not less typical men. Some are simply local "characters," such as "Nigger John," whose humble request for "a little betta saddle and a little wuss hoss," wherewith to demonstrate his qualities as a rider, is a memorable story of the range.

The style is direct, informal, and highly personal, as befits essays some of which were originally written for radio. Many colourful anecdotes and much of the tang of western speech is thereby recorded. The whole constitutes a personal document of great warmth and interest, especially for those who share Dean MacEwan's enthusiasm for horses and Scotsmen.

The book is published without any scholarly apparatus, the type is good but crowded on the page, and the illustrations are inferior.

The University of Manitoba.

W. L. MORTON

*The Royal Canadian Institute Centennial Volume, 1849-1949.* Edited by W.

STEWART WALLACE. Toronto: Royal Canadian Institute. 1949. Pp. ix, 232.

THE story of the Royal Canadian Institute—a story of sunshine and shade—has been vividly portrayed by the editor in this handsomely produced volume. It is an exciting story, for it is a record of a triumph over difficulties that might have appalled even the most stout hearted. A hundred years ago an organization, the purpose of which was—mainly—to be a bond between surveyors, engineers, and architects in the interests of their professions and of applied science, had no great outside appeal. But there is much to be said for meetings where not more than two, and preferably even only one, can attend. For it was at a regular meeting, with two members present, that two resolutions were put through, which had far reaching consequences. The one was that the membership should be widened to include those of kindred interests to the architects, the engineers, and the surveyors. Out of this decision has come the Royal Canadian Institute of our day, wholly catholic in its scientific interests. The second was that meetings should be held on Saturday evenings. The meetings are still held on Saturday evenings, and Convocation Hall of the University of Toronto is not infrequently filled to overflowing with men and women eager to hear of the recent advances in some field of scientific endeavour. It is from that meeting of two wise people in February of 1850 that the Royal Canadian Institute, as we know it, takes its character.

But even after the decision was reached, the way was not easy. The problem of housing was difficult, and many changes of location were necessary, and the end is not yet. As so often is the case with organizations of this kind, the children which the parent body reared found new homes of their own. The Institute gathered together a small museum. It has now been absorbed in the Royal Ontario Museum, which owes its inception in part at least to the Institute. A library was collected, now incorporated into the Library of the University of Toronto. A research organization was set up, providing a stimulus for the National Research Council and the Ontario Research Foundation. Her children rise up to call the Institute blessed. Not only the children but a god child as well. For the idea of standard time, fathered by Sir Sandford Fleming, was blessed by the Institute when Sir Sandford launched his plan at a regular meeting. Few ideas have met with more widespread acceptance by the world at large.

The editor has made himself responsible for the historical section of the volume. He has done his work well, for he has made the story live. But it was felt by the Committee in charge of the centenary celebrations that it was not enough to give the story of the Institute. What was of greater concern was the progress of science during the hundred years and particularly the progress of science in Canada. In order to keep the review within reasonable compass, those sciences were selected with which the Institute had had closest relationships through the years, and experts were chosen from among the members of the Institute to give an account of the developments which had taken place in the individual sciences in the years in which the Institute had been in existence. The subjects so treated are anthropology, astronomy, botany, chemistry, engineering, geology, medicine, meteorology, physics, and zoology.

The names which are associated with the discussion of these sciences in the volume are a guarantee of the authenticity of the treatment. They are well known in their respective fields. It is now several years since Dr. H. M. Tory reviewed the progress of Canadian science in a somewhat similar way. It is helpful to be brought up to date. Necessarily the authors have dealt in large

measure with material progress in discussing their respective subjects. For the subject matter of these sciences is material, and the story of the physical progress is impressive. It is all the more impressive in the part that has been played by members of the Institute in the development of the sciences. One could have wished for something more of the inner spirit, of the driving forces, of the sciences, and of the difficulties which the pioneers encountered in a day when the support of science was by no means so general as it is today. All in all, the record is impressive; and the Institute provided a forum which served a very helpful purpose at a time when conventions of this organization and of that had not yet become the somewhat disturbing order of the day.

The information about the officers and committees of the Royal Canadian Institute during the hundred years is useful, though of somewhat local, rather than of more general, interest. As a matter of fact, the Royal Canadian Institute, despite its imposing name, has been, and is, local. It is the responsibility of the officers and directors, in the years that lie ahead, to see to it that what has been done, and done so well, for the citizens of Toronto, should be done for the men and women of other cities in Canada. The precedent has been well set. The opportunity is here. This memorial volume should provide the challenge.

R. C. WALLACE

Queen's University.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED IN THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS  
By ANN STEWART RABJOHNS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

*Commonwealth and common policy: An Australian viewpoint* (Round table, no. 156, Sept., 1949, 317-22).

ELTON, Lord. *Destiny of the Empire* (Commonwealth and empire review, LXXXIII (530), Oct., 1949, 13-16).

FITZGERALD, R. C. *Further developments in the British Commonwealth of Nations* (World affairs, III (3), July, 1949, 269-81).

— *The 1948 conference of Commonwealth prime ministers* (World affairs, III (1), Jan., 1949, 64-76).

### II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

GLAZEBROOK, G. P. DE T. *Canadian foreign policy in the twentieth century* (Journal of modern history, XXI (1), Mar., 1949, 44-55). Indicates the nature of the material available for the study of Canadian foreign policy in the present century.

MACKINTOSH, W. A. *Canada's stake in Anglo-American solidarity* (Foreign affairs, XXVIII (1), Oct., 1949, 18-29).

MAYRAND, LÉON. *La carrière diplomatique* (Revue de l'université d'Ottawa, XIX (2), avril-juin, 1949, 174-86). Describes the organization and functions of the Canadian diplomatic service.

SCHWARZENBERGER, G. *The North Atlantic Pact* (World affairs, III (3), July, 1949, 236-45). Points out that "the Pact is another outward symbol of the progressive division of the world into two armed camps, and its purpose is to ensure the maximum of safety and security to the nations banded together in this defensive alliance."

*Straight talk from Mike Pearson* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (20), Oct. 15, 1949, 8-9, 62-7). A record of an interview with the Canadian minister of external affairs concerning Canadian foreign policy and the official Canadian attitude to international problems.

TRAQUAIR, RAMSAY. *The Atlantic alliance* (Queen's quarterly, LVI (3), autumn, 1949, 313-23). An explanation of an article written by Professor Traquair in 1924 in which he prophesied that "the Commonwealth of the Atlantic is the fulfilment of our history; it exists even if we do not see it; and in it is our future."

VAN ALSTYNE, RICHARD W. *The North Atlantic Treaty* (Current history, XVI (94), June, 1949, 321-5). Points out that "the United States is the real author and chief architect of the Atlantic Treaty," and that, thanks to it, "for the first time since the summer of 1945, a balance of power has been achieved against the Soviet Union."

WATTSFORD, G. J. H. *The strategic importance of Canada* (Canadian army journal, II (12), Mar., 1949, 17-21). A condensation of a general lecture given by the author while on exchange duty at Australian Army Headquarters.

WILLOUGHBY, WILLIAM R. *Canada and the North Atlantic Pact* (Virginia quarterly review, XXV (3), summer, 1949, 429-42). An American explains the role played by "our good neighbor to the North" in the establishment of the North Atlantic security league.

### III. CANADA, THE WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

ANDERSON, F. E. *Industrial mobilization* (Canadian army journal, II (12), Mar., 1949, 1-5; III (1), Apr., 1949, 7-9). Deals with the organization during the Second World War of the Canadian Wartime Prices and Trade Board and the Department of Munitions and Supply and discusses the achievements of the Canadian industrial war effort.

- EDMONDSON, W. S. *Operation dynamite* (Canadian army journal, III (5), Aug., 1949, 1-6, 32). The author was the company commander in this operation carried out in Holland during December, 1944.
- HURST, ALAN M. *The Canadian Y.M.C.A. in World War II*. National War Services Committee of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations of Canada. n.d. Pp. 398. This book was prepared to give Y.M.C.A. members and friends in particular, and the Canadian people in general, an outline of the extent and diversity of the work directed by the War Services Committee.
- MACNAUGHT, JACK. *The battle of the St. Lawrence* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (20), Oct. 15, 1949, 7, 68-70; LXII (21), Nov. 1, 1949, 22, 47-9). During the Second World War twenty-three ships totalling 70,000 tons were torpedoed in the St. Lawrence River and the Gulf and in them 700 persons were killed.
- The R.C.A.F. overseas: The sixth year*. With a foreword by the Honourable BROOKE CLAXTON. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 537. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

#### IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

##### (1) General History

- ANGLIN, GERALD. *The Smallwood saga* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (15), Aug. 15, 1949, 12-13, 50-2). A feature article on Joseph Smallwood, premier of Newfoundland.
- BROCKIE, WILLIAM. *Tales of the Mounted*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1949. Pp. 182. (\$2.75) See p. 376.
- BROWN, GEORGE W. et al. *The story of Canada*. Toronto: Copp Clark Co. 1949. Pp. xiii, 433. (\$3.00) See p. 375.
- CLARKSON, F. ARNOLD. *The Canadian album—men of Canada* (Calgary Associate Clinic historical bulletin, XIV (2), Aug., 1949, 17-25). Considers some of the biographies included in the first volume of the *Canadian Album* published nearly sixty years ago under the editorship of Dr. William Cochrane.
- COLBY, C. W. *Sir Edmund Walker* (Canadian banker, LVI (2), spring, 1949, 92-101). Biographical article on Sir Edmund Walker, president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce from 1907 to 1924.
- DORLAND, ARTHUR G. *Our Canada*. Editorial consultant, A. D. LOCKHART. Toronto: Copp Clark Co. 1949. Pp. xii, 541. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- FRANCIS, FLETCHER. *Queen's Park idol* (Country guide, LXVIII (6), June, 1949, 8, 45-6). Pre-election article on George Drew, leader of the Progressive Conservative party.
- HARDY, H. REGINALD. *Mackenzie King of Canada: A biography*. London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. 1949. Pp. xii, 390. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- HUTCHISON, BRUCE. *Man from Compton* (Country guide, LXVIII (6), June, 1949, 7, 35-6). Pre-election article on Louis St. Laurent, leader of the Liberal party.
- LACROIX, BENOÎT. *Avons-nous des historiens?* (Revue dominicaine, LV (2), sept., 1949, 84-96). The author sees "une riche bilan d'activités historiques et de promesses au Canada, 1940-1948."
- LEECHMAN, DOUGLAS. *Indian summer*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1949. Pp. x, 182. (\$2.75) See p. 376.
- LEWIS, DAVID. *Evolution of a statesman* (Country guide, LXVIII (6), June, 1949, 9, 33-4). Pre-election article on M. J. Coldwell, leader of the C.C.F. party.
- PIERCE, LORNE. *C. W. Jefferys, O.S.A., R.C.A., LL.D.* (Ontario history, XLI (4), Oct., 1949, 213-16). A biographical article on this well-known Canadian artist-historian.

##### (2) Discovery and Exploration

- MEISNEST, FREDERICK W. *The lost book of privileges of Columbus located and identified* (Huntington Library quarterly, XII (4), Aug., 1949, 401-7). The author has identified a Columbus Book of Privileges in Manuscript, 1502 purchased by Henry E. Huntington about 1924 from Maggs Bros., London, as the lost paper copy of Columbus's codex taken to Hispaniola by Carvajal, Columbus's financial agent, in 1503.



## (3) New France

- BAILLY, EDWARD C. *The French-Canadian background of a Minnesota pioneer—Alexis Bailly* (B.R.H., LV (7, 8, 9), juill.-août-sept., 1949, 137-55). Alexis Bailly was one of Minnesota's pioneer settlers and a member of the first territorial legislature.
- CAUX, ARTHUR. *Notes sur la fondation des paroisses de Lotbinière* (B.R.H., LV (1, 2, 3), janv.-fév.-mars, 1949, 43-6). The parishes of Tilly, Ste-Croix, Lotbinière, and Deschailions were established toward the end of the seventeenth century.
- Fondation d'une chapelle dans l'église des Récollets de Québec par Antoine de Lamothe-Cadillac, 18 octobre 1699* (B.R.H., LV (1, 2, 3), janv.-fév.-mars, 1949, 19-20).
- LÉTOURNEAU, HUBERT. *A propos de Brébeuf et Lalemant (1649-1949)* (B.R.H., LV (1, 2, 3), janv.-fév.-mars, 1949, 9-15). Of the country of the Hurons and of the two martyrs, Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant.
- MORISSET, GÉRARD. *Québec, ville sacrifiée* (B.R.H., LV (7, 8, 9), juill.-août-sept., 1949, 131-7). Notes on the early days of Quebec.
- NEEDLER, G. H. *Champlain's route with the Huron war party in 1615* (Ontario history, XLI (4), Oct., 1949, 201-6). Traces the much-discussed route of Champlain's 1615 expedition with the Huron war party.
- PELL, ROBERT THOMPSON. *Montcalm: Origins and first steps* (Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, VIII (4), summer, 1949, 131-59). An account of Montcalm's life up to his departure for Canada.
- ROY, LÉON. *Les premiers concessionnaires de la Sainte-Famille, I.O.* (B.R.H., LV (4, 5, 6), avril-mai-juin, 1949, 111-18). The parish of Sainte-Famille is on the north side of the island of Orleans which is in the St. Lawrence River close to Quebec.
- ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Le nommé Deschenaux* (B.R.H., LV (7, 8, 9), juill.-août-sept., 1949, 163-7). Notes on Joseph Brassard Deschenaux (1722-93) who was associated with Bigot's administration until he was dismissed for embezzlement.
- Trois documents sur l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* (B.R.H., LV (1, 2, 3), janv.-fév.-mars, 1949, 15-17). The Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec was opened in 1639.

## (4) British North America before 1867

- BARKER, BURT BROWN. *The estate of Dr. John McLoughlin: The papers discovered* (Oregon historical quarterly, L (3), Sept., 1949, 155-85). Prints a number of papers from the estate of John McLoughlin found in the records of the Probate Court of Clackamas County in Oregon City.
- BEER, GEORGE LOUIS. *The commercial policy of England toward the American colonies*. New York, 1948. Pp. 167. Photo-lithographed reprint of Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Laws, vol. III, no. 2, New York, 1893.
- BOISSONNAULT, CHARLES-MARIE. *Naissance du régime parlementaire* (Revue de l'université Laval, IV (1), sept., 1949, 3-19). Deals with the attempts to establish responsible government in the Canadas between 1834 and 1848.
- CURRY, FREDERICK C. *A letter from Ogdensburg in 1814* (Ontario history, XLI (4), Oct., 1949, 207-11). Prints a letter dated October 9, 1814 from David Ford to his brother, Nathan Ford in Ogdensburg dealing with conditions during the War of 1812-14.
- EINHORN, NATHAN R. *The reception of the British peace offer of 1778* (Pennsylvania history, XVI (3), July, 1949, 191-214). Deals with the unsuccessful peace negotiations initiated by Britain three years after the outbreak of the American Revolution.
- GARDNER, RAY. *Beads to billions: The story of the H.B.C.* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (16), Aug. 15, 1949, 5-7, 47, 49; LXII (17), Sept. 1, 1949, 19, 55-8). A popularized account of the Hudson's Bay Company.
- GIPSON, LAWRENCE HENRY. *The great war for the empire: The victorious years, 1758-1760.* (The British Empire before the American Revolution, volume VII.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xlviii, 467, xxxvi. (\$7.50) Reviewed on p. 355.

- JOHNSON, GERALD W. *Our English heritage*. (The Peoples of America Series, edited by LOUIS ADAMIC.) Philadelphia, New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. [Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co]. 1949. Pp. 253. (\$5.00)
- KYTE, GEORGE W. *Some plans for a Loyalist stronghold in the Middle Colonies* (Pennsylvania history, XVI (3), July, 1949, 177-90). The papers of Lord Germain, secretary of state for the colonies from 1775 to 1782, reveal some interesting plans for the suppression of the revolutionary forces and for the establishment of loyalist strongholds in certain areas.
- *Robert Liston and Anglo-American cooperation, 1796-1800* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, XCIII (3), June 10, 1949, 259-66). The temporary Anglo-American accord of 1796-1800 was brought about largely by the personal effort of Sir Robert Liston, British minister to the United States, and by the pressure of hostile acts committed against the United States by the French republic.
- ORMES, RENÉE DES. *Evocations des Salaberry* (Revue de l'université Laval, IV (2), oct., 1949, 121-34). An article in the "petite histoire" section on Charles Michel d'Irumberry de Salaberry (1778-1829). It was he who defeated the Americans at Châteauguay in 1813.
- PRATT, JULIUS W. *Expansionists of 1812*. New York: Peter Smith. Reprinted, 1949. Pp. 309. (\$3.25) A useful reprint of a well-known volume which has been out of print for some time.
- RILEY, EDWARD M. *Yorktown during the Revolution* (Virginia magazine of history and biography, LVII (1), Jan., 1949, 22-43; LVII (2), Apr., 1949, 176-88; LVII (3), July, 1949, 274-85).
- SCHUTZ, JOHN A. *The siege of Fort William Henry: Letters of George Bartman* (Huntington Library quarterly, XII (4), Aug., 1949, 415-25). Prints some letters written during the siege of Fort William Henry by George Bartman, aide-de-camp for the area commander, Daniel Webb.
- An unpublished letter of Sir John Franklin* (Polar record, V (37, 38), Jan.-July, 1949, 348-50). Publishes Sir John Franklin's last letter to his friend Dr. Richardson. It throws considerable light on Franklin's plans for his final expedition.
- WALLACE, PAUL A. W. *The Muhlenbergs and the revolutionary underground* (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, XCIII (2), May 16, 1949, 119-26). An account of the crisis in the life of the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg precipitated by his neutral stand during the American Revolution.
- (5) The Dominion of Canada**
- BRUCHÉSI, JEAN. *Aspect intellectuel et universitaire du Canada d'après guerre* (Culture, X (3), sept., 1949, 215-29).
- Canada, House of Commons. *Official report of debates, fifth session, twentieth parliament, 13 George VI, 1949*. Vol. III. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1949. Pp. 1923-2812.
- Canada, the Senate. *Debates, 1949. Official report, fifth session, twentieth parliament, 13 George VI*. Revised edition. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1949. Pp. xvii, 384.
- Canada: *The general election* (Round table, no. 156, Sept., 1949, 370-5). An analysis of the 1949 general election.
- Canada overseas reference book including the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, Labrador, and Newfoundland*. Advisory editor, ROBERT HAMILTON COATS. (Todd Reference books). London: Harrap. 1949. Pp. 513. A comprehensive reference book addressed primarily to the business executive who trades with or is considering trading with Canada.
- CLUTTERBUCK, SIR ALEXANDER. *A report from Canada* (United Empire, XL (5), Sept.-Oct., 1949, 230-4). The author is high commissioner in Canada for the government of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland.

- FALARDEAU, JEAN-CHARLES. *Mariage de raison* (Food for thought, X (1), Oct., 1949, 34-8, 47). A discussion of the changes in the relations between French and English Canadians during the last twenty-five years.
- SANDWELL, B. K. *The 1949 elections* (Queen's quarterly, LVI (3), autumn, 1949, 425-31). Analyses the position of the Canadian parties as a result of the 1949 election and comments on their future in view of "the suspicion that it may shortly become next to impossible to overthrow a government which is lavishly maintaining a welfare state."
- STEVENSON, J. A. *The political situation in Canada* (Quarterly review, no. 580, Apr., 1949, 243-56). Reviews the Canadian political situation on the eve of the general election.
- This is Canada*. Prepared for the Department of Mines and Resources by the Canadian Association for Adult Education. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1948. Pp. 118. A book of advice and information for immigrants.
- WARD, NORMAN. *The raising of pigs by lieutenant governors* (Dalhousie review, XXIX (2), July, 1949, 153-6). An article in lighter vein about a debate in the Canadian parliament of 1883 over the building of stables for the lieutenant-governor.

## V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

### (1) Newfoundland and the Maritime Provinces

- FERGUSON, C. BRUCE. *A Coke's tour to Halifax* (Dalhousie review, XXIX (1), Apr., 1949, 51-61). In 1832 E. T. Coke, a lieutenant in the 45th Regiment, spent ten days at Halifax of which he later wrote an interesting account.
- FRASER, A. M. *Newfoundland: A sketch of the history and economy of Canada's tenth province* (Canadian banker, LVI (2), spring, 1949, 35-47).
- HARVEY, D. C. *Genesis of the R.N.S.Y.S.* (Dalhousie review, XXIX (1), Apr., 1949, 21-36). The Royal Nova Scotia Yacht Squadron (Royal since 1880) was formed in 1875.
- MACKINNON, FRANK. *Communications between P.E.I. and the mainland* (Dalhousie review, XXIX (2), July, 1949, 182-90). The problem of providing communications between Prince Edward Island and the mainland has, more than any other, complicated relations between the province and Ottawa.
- MERKEL, ANDREW. *Then and now (1849-1949)* (Dalhousie review, XXIX (1), Apr., 1949, 65-72). An account of the celebration of the centenary of Halifax on June 8, 1849.

### (2) The Province of Quebec

- BUTLER, M. D. *Canadian wanderings by road and water* (Blackwood's magazine, no. 1606, Aug., 1949, 166-74). An account of a trip on a motorcycle in Eastern Canada.
- CAUX, ARTHUR. *Notes sur les seigneurs de Beaurivage* (B.R.H., LV (7, 8, 9), juill.-août-sept., 1949, 155-61). Notes on the seigneurs of Beaurivage from 1689 to the present.
- DAVIES, BLODWEN. *Gaspé, land of history and romance*. Toronto: Ambassador Books. 1949. Pp. xiii, 233. (\$4.00)
- LAPORTE, J.-ALPHONSE. *Historique de St-Vital de Lambton (1848-1948)*. [Quebec. 1948.] Pp. 158. (\$1.50) The author in his preface states that he "n'a pas l'illusion d'avoir écrit un chef-d'œuvre digne de passer à la postérité; il a simplement voulu rendre un hommage public à sa petite Patrie et à ceux qui l'ont constituée depuis plus d'un siècle."
- MARION, SÉRAPHIN. *Le Canada français d'autrefois et le classicisme* (Amérique française, no. 4, 1949, 7-16).

TREMBLAY, JEAN-PAUL. *Culture et loisir au Canada français* (Revue de l'université d'Ottawa, XIX (3), juill.-sept., 1949, 360-78). French Canada must build "en face de l'Amérique et du monde entier . . . un système de loisir qui soit vraiment une école d'humanisme, une source d'élévation et une issue vers le salut."

### (3) The Province of Ontario

CRANSTON, J. HERBERT. *Huronian: Cradle of Ontario's history*. Illustrated by C. W. JEFFERYS. Barrie, Ont.: Huronia Historic Sites and Tourist Association. 1949. Pp. 24. (25c.) This short illustrated local history is an experiment in education and in tourist promotion.

DAWSON, Mrs. JOSEPH. *Colborne Lodge, High Park*. Compiled for the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. 1949. Pp. 8. Deals with the life of John G. Howard who as surveyor, architect, and engineer played a conspicuous part in the development of Toronto, and on his death bequeathed his estate, now known as High Park, to the city.

KATZ, SIDNEY. *Jim Crow lives in Dresden* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (21), Nov. 1, 1949, 8, 9, 51-2). Dresden, Ont., whose chief claim to fame is that it served as the terminus of the "underground railway" which assisted Negro slaves to escape from the United States, has a population of 1,700 of which 300 are Negroes. These Negroes are barred from the town's barber shops, beauty parlors, and large restaurants.

MACFIE, C. M. *The township of Ekfrid, 1849-1949*. Published by the Council of the Township in recognition of a century of self-government. 1949. Pp. 48. Written by a former M.P.P. and long-time public servant, this pamphlet is a study of the settlement and development of municipal self-government in Ekfrid Township, Middlesex County, Ontario. Any one interested in municipal affairs or local history could read this publication with profit. [A. G. BOGUE]

MORRISON, NEIL F. *Windsor's great fire of 1849* (Michigan history, XXXIII (2), June, 1949, 165-6). Reprints an account of the fire from the *Amherstburg Courier and Western District Advertiser*, April 21, 1849.

La Société historique du Nouvel-Ontario. *Folklore franco-ontarien: chansons*. (Documents historiques, no. 17.) Sudbury: La Société, Collège du Sacré-Coeur. 1949. Pp. 48.

WALLACE, MALCOLM. *Pioneers of the Scotch Settlement on the shore of Lake St. Clair* (Ontario history, XLI (4), Oct., 1949, 173-200). A brief account of the Scotch Settlement on the shores of Lake St. Clair in the township of Maidstone, some fourteen miles east of Windsor, Ontario.

### (4) The Prairie Provinces

BERTON, PIERRE. *Edmonton: A boom at the crossroads* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (14), July 15, 1949, 12-13, 41-3).

DUNN, JAMES TAYLOR. *Nipigon fisherwoman* (The beaver, outfit 280, Sept., 1949, 20-3). An account of a trip made in 1888 by Elizabeth Taylor, daughter of James W. Taylor, the American consul at Winnipeg, up the Nipigon to an Anglican mission sixty miles from civilization.

EDMONDS, W. EVERARD. *Committee's Punch Bowl* (The beaver, outfit 280, Sept., 1949, 12-15). Notes on the little lake on top of the Athabaska Pass which, 125 years ago, Simpson named the Committee's Punch Bowl in honour of the Hudson's Bay Company's London Committee.

MACGREGOR, JAMES G. *Blankets and beads: A history of the Saskatchewan River*. Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art. 1949. Pp. 278. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.

**(5) British Columbia and the Northwest Coast**

HARRINGTON, LYN. *The Queen Charlotte Islands* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXIX (2), Aug., 1949, 44-59). The Queen Charlotte Islands are situated about the middle of the British Columbia coast.

McKELVIE, B. A. *HBC and Vancouver's Island* (The beaver, outfit 280, Sept., 1949, 38-41). The Hudson's Bay Company took over the duties and responsibilities of administering the new colony of Vancouver's Island, with no hope of gain or even gratitude, but as a public service.

SAGE, WALTER N. *The North-West Mounted Police and British Columbia* (Pacific historical review, XVIII (3), Aug., 1949, 345-61). The "Mounties," being a federal force, have operated continuously in British Columbia only since their reorganization in 1920 as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Before that time they came into the province only on special missions.

**(6) Northwest Territories, Yukon, and the Arctic Regions**

BAIRD, P. D. *Expeditions to the Arctic* (The beaver, outfit 279, Mar., 1949, 44-7; outfit 280, June, 1949, 41-7; outfit 280, Sept., 1949, 44-8). Lists the various expeditions to the Canadian Arctic from 1004 to 1918.

*A northern adventure* (Canadian army journal, II (9), Dec., 1948, 1-7). This narrative was extracted from the October, 1948 number of "Notes of Interest—The North-West Territories and Yukon Radio System," a publication issued by the Command Signal Officer, Western Command Headquarters, Edmonton, Alta.

POLUNIN, NICHOLAS. *Arctic unfolding: Experiences and observations during a Canadian airborne expedition in northern Ungava, the Northwest Territories, and the Arctic Archipelago*. London, New York, Melbourne, Sydney, Cape Town: Hutchinson and Co. [Toronto: Ryerson Press]. 1949. Pp. 348. (21s.)

PONCINS, GONTRAN DE. *Eskimos*. New York: Hastings House [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders]. 1949. Pp. 104. (\$6.50) A primarily pictorial account of the author's experiences in living with the Eskimo during a trip made in 1938 and 1939 to the region of the north magnetic pole. The numerous photographs in the volume are of unusual interest.

**VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, SCIENCE, AND STATISTICS****(1) General**

ALEXANDER, ROBERT J. *The beginnings of Canadian labor* (Canadian forum, XXIX (343), Aug., 1949, 104-7). An account of some of the early Canadian unions.

NASH, D. W. *Mr. Chairman* (Country guide, LXVIII (10), Oct., 1949, 14, 34). An article based on two old minute books of the Scandia Local no. 904 of the United Farmers of Alberta.

**(2) Agriculture**

WRIGHT, JIM. *Co-operative farming in Saskatchewan* (Canadian geographical journal, XXXIX (2), Aug., 1949, 68-90).

**(4) Geography**

BLANCHET, GUY H. *Thelewey-aza-yeth* (The beaver, outfit 280, Sept., 1949, 8-11). In searching for the headwaters of the Thelon River, the author explored and mapped much new country, including the vicinity of Hearne's Thelewey-aza-yeth.

BOTTS, ADELBERT K. *Geographic backgrounds of Hudson Bay history* (Social education, XI (8), 1947, 343-45). Examines the long-term interaction of man and environment in the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company.

**(5) Transportation and Communication**

ELLIS, F. H. *New York to Nome and back* (The beaver, outfit 280, Sept., 1949, 28-32). The Northwest Staging Route had its beginnings back in 1920 when eight fliers of the United States Army Air Service flew from New York to Nome and back.

## (6) Science

CALLWOOD, JUNE. *The amazing mechanical kidney* (Maclean's magazine, LXII (15), Aug. 15, 1949, 20-1, 35-6). Dr. Gordon Murray of Toronto succeeded in constructing a machine that would do the work of the kidneys. It was first used in 1946.

PENFIELD, WILDER. *William Osler's 100th birthday* (McGill news, XXXI (1), autumn, 1949, 6-7, 24, 26). Biographical article marking the hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great Canadian physician, Sir William Osler.

WARRINGTON, C. J. S. and NICHOLLS, R. V. V. (comps.). *A history of chemistry in Canada*. (For the Chemical Institute of Canada.) Toronto: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons (Canada). 1949. Pp. x, 502. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

## VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

BIDWELL, R. G. S. *An approach to military history* (Canadian army journal, II (11), Feb., 1949, 14-15). The author believes that in teaching military history, an attempt should be made to stir the imagination by the presentation of episodic and colourful examples "so that the student never is drawn into trying to unravel dead-as-mutton strategy or motives."

CLARKE, KATHARINE WALLBRIDGE. *The story of the Bishop Strachan School* (Bulletin of the Bishop Strachan School Association, XXXVII, 1949, 19-50). An account of the Bishop Strachan School in Toronto from its founding in 1867 to the present.

PACEY, DESMOND. *How big should our universities be?* (Dalhousie review, XXIX (2), July, 1949, 146-52). The author warns Canadian universities to be careful not to sacrifice standards for the sake of mere "bigness."

PRESTON, R. A. *The teaching of military history in Canada* (Canadian army journal, III (1), Apr., 1949, 14-15, 30). The author believes that the modern trend in the teaching of military history is (and should be) to widen the subject, not to narrow it; to relate it to general history, not to introduce additional interesting but unimportant details.

WALLACE, ROBERT C. *Appointments to Canadian universities* (Queen's quarterly, LVI (3), autumn, 1949, 324-9). Considers the procedure used in selecting staff for Canadian universities and contrasts the methods of other universities of the Commonwealth.

CHAMPAGNE, JOSEPH-ETIENNE. *Les missions catholiques dans l'Ouest canadien (1818-1875)*. (Publications de l'Institut de Missiologie de l'Université pontificale d'Ottawa, I.) Ottawa: Éditions des Études oblates. 1949. Pp. 208. (\$2.25)

## VIII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

GOWANS, ALAN W. *Church architecture in New France from the foundation to 1665* (B.R.H., LV (4, 5, 6), avril-mai-juin, 1949, 77-90). A chronological list of church buildings erected in New France between 1615 and 1665.

LEFEBVRE, EUGÈNE. *Terre de miracles: Sainte-Anne de Beupré, 1927-1947*. Préface de Mgr MAURICE ROY. Sainte-Anne de Beupré: Librairie Alphonsienne. 1949. Pp. xvi, 210. (\$1.25)

SHAVE, HARRY. *Centenary of a diocese* (The beaver, outfit 280, Sept., 1949, 4-7). In 1840 the Anglican diocese of Rupert's Land was created, and the first bishop arrived at Red River.

TREMBLAY, PIERRE. *Une âme canadienne extraordinairement ordinaire: Marie-Claire Tremblay (1916-1939)*. Ottawa, Montréal: Éditions du Lévrier. 1949. Pp. 375. (\$2.25). A biography of Marie-Claire Tremblay dealing mainly with the religious aspects of her life.

VALOIS, ROBERT. *Le Père François-Michel Roberge, sixième Supérieur général des Clercs de Saint-Viateur, 1866-1941*. Joliette: Les Clercs de Saint-Viateur. 1949. Pp. 109.

**IX. GENEALOGY**

ROY, LÉON. *Antoine et Jeanne Dionne-dit-Sanssoucy et leurs enfants* (B.R.H., LV (1, 2, 3), janv.-fév.-mars, 1949, 53-62; LV (4, 5, 6), avril-mai-juin, 1949, 67-76).

**X. BIBLIOGRAPHY**

WILSON, ROBERTA L. (comp.). *Regional and county library service in Canada: A bibliography*. Ottawa: Canadian Library Association. 1949. Pp. 13 (mimeo.).

**XI. ART AND LITERATURE**

AYRE, ROBERT. *Art in Newfoundland* (Canadian art, VII (1), Oct., 1949, 18-20).

BLAKELEY, PHYLLIS R. *The theatre and music in Halifax* (Dalhousie review, XXIX (1), Apr., 1949, 8-20). On theatre in Halifax during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

BUCHANAN, DONALD W. *The paintings and drawings of F. H. Varley* (Canadian art, VII (1), Oct., 1949, 1-6). A sketch of the life and work of F. H. Varley, who has been painting in Canada since 1912.

TONNANCOUR, JACQUES DE. *On humanity in Canadian art* (Canadian art, VII (1), Oct., 1949, 6-9). "Hope for Canadian art will not dawn upon us from learning how to paint better; this will be an automatic consequence of developing better integrated human beings, . . . deep enough to have an insight into eternity and who will place the aim of their painting . . . at the level of this 'sacred condition', subordinating everything else to it."



## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### PERSONAL ITEMS

*Further items for inclusion under this heading will be welcome.*

R. V. Allen, Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Toronto, has transferred to the Department of Slavic Studies of the same University.

George Bennett has been appointed Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Toronto.

C. S. Burchill has resigned from his position as Assistant Professor of History in the University of Alberta to become Associate Professor of History and Economics in the Joint Services College, Royal Roads, Victoria, B.C.

J. M. S. Careless has been promoted from Lecturer to Assistant Professor in the Department of History of the University of Toronto.

P. G. Cornell has been appointed Assistant Professor in history at the University of New Brunswick.

D. G. Creighton, Professor of History at the University of Toronto, received the honorary degree of doctor of laws at the Convocation of the University of New Brunswick on May 13, 1949.

H. S. Crowe is taking the place of K. M. Setton in the Department of History of the University of Manitoba during Professor Setton's absence in the first term of 1949-50.

Keith Feiling, Chichele Professor of History at Oxford University, was a Visiting Lecturer at the Department of History of the University of Toronto during the 1949 autumn term.

Gordon Frazer has been appointed Sessional Lecturer in history at Queen's University for 1949-50.

James A. Gibson, Head of the Department of History of Carleton College, has been promoted to the rank of Professor.

G. P. de T. Glazebrook has resigned from his position as Professor of History at the University of Toronto to become special wartime assistant to the under-secretary of state for external affairs.

R. Glover, Assistant Professor of History in the University of Manitoba, spent the summer in England doing research.

Charles Lightbody has been appointed Associate Professor of History at the University of Saskatchewan. For the last two years he has been engaged in research upon Joan of Arc from the point of view of cultural history, and upon witchcraft in the later Middle Ages. His work upon the former subject, "The Judgments of Joan," is at present approaching completion.

Edgar McInnis has been promoted from Associate Professor to Professor in the Department of History of the University of Toronto. Professor McInnis was a member of the Canadian delegation to the Commonwealth Relations Conference held at Bigwin Inn in September, 1949. He has also published (with J. H. S. Reid of United College, Winnipeg) *The English-Speaking Peoples* (Toronto and Vancouver, J. M. Dent and Sons, 1948).

J. D. Mackie, Professor of Scottish History and Literature at the University of Glasgow, visited a number of Canadian and American universities during the autumn of 1949.

K. A. MacKirdy has been appointed Assistant Professor in history at the University of New Brunswick.

W. S. MacNutt has been promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor in history at the University of New Brunswick.

J. M. McQueen has been re-appointed Sessional Lecturer in history at Carleton College.

W. L. Morton has been promoted to Professor of Canadian History in the University of Manitoba.

Hilda Neatby, Associate Professor of History in the University of Saskatchewan, has been granted a year's leave of absence in order that she may devote her time to the work of the Royal Commission on Arts, Letters and Science of which she is a member.

Harold Nelson has been appointed Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Toronto.

Richard M. Saunders, of the Department of History of the University of Toronto, attended the International Conference on the Meaning of History, organized by the Ecumenical Institute and the World Student Christian Federation at Chateau Bossey, Céligny, Switzerland in July and August, 1949. He read a paper on "The Coming of the French Revolution: A Christian Interpretation."

K. M. Setton, Chairman of the Department of History of the University of Manitoba, was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in the spring of 1949 and is on leave of absence during the first term of the 1949-50 session. Professor Setton has recently published *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass., Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948).

David Spring has resigned from the Department of History of the University of Toronto to accept a post in the Department of History of Johns Hopkins University.

R. G. Trotter, Professor of History at Queen's University, is on sabbatical leave during 1949-50.

T. S. Webster, Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Manitoba, has returned to the Department after a year's leave of absence spent at the University of Chicago studying for the degree of doctor of philosophy.

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#### ANGLO-AMERICAN HISTORICAL CONFERENCE 1950

The Conference will be held at the Institute of Historical Research, Senate House, University of London, on Friday and Saturday, July 14 and 15, 1950. Historians who expect to be in England during next July are asked to communicate with the secretary of the Institute, University of London, Senate House, W.C.1, or with the executive secretary, American Historical Association, who has further particulars.

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#### BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

*The Story of Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Co., 1949, pp. xiii, 433, \$3.00) by G. W. Brown, Eleanor Harman, and Marsh Jeanneret, may be highly recommended to teachers of Canadian history as a companion volume to the school text for their pupils' home reading. Designed for ages nine to fourteen, it is calculated above all to interest young readers in the story of Canada. Illustrated on almost every page, often in colour, it is an attractive job of book-making for children with none of the forbidding look of the usual text-book. This volume invites reading for pleasure. Its contents live up to its form. The authors have cast Canadian

history into a number of well told stories, sometimes presented almost as drama, with the spoken word used freely to bring an air of reality. At the same time a balanced organization of topics and a sound historical perspective have been maintained. This is an elementary history that not only provides the basic material for study but should also bring a sense of the reality of the Canadian past to its readers. Indeed, teachers themselves may profit from studying its approach.

*Castle of Quebec* (Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada), 1949, pp. v, 186, \$3.00), by Joan E. Morgan, seeks to relate the history of the city of Quebec in terms of the two castles about which so much of that history has revolved: the former Chateau St. Louis, destroyed by fire in 1834, and the present Chateau Frontenac, begun in 1893. As a history of the city it is, perhaps of necessity, incomplete and episodic, as it traces the events chiefly affecting the chateaux. This is particularly true for the last century of Quebec's history. Surprisingly enough, the meeting of 1864 in the city at which a nation was born is passed over: the Quebec conferences dealt with are those of 1943-4. Of course the Confederation era fell in the interregnum between the two castles of Quebec and simply as an account of their history this book is far more satisfying. It is still rather episodic on this basis, however, often remaining a series of unintegrated notes, and, for recent years, sometimes a society column of famous affairs and notable names at the Chateau, from Winston Churchill to Boris Karloff. Yet it recreates the life of the two chateaux with loving care, and, after much research, it draws together tales and anecdotes often long out of print, and it is written throughout in a fresh and colourful manner.

*Untold Tales of Old Quebec* (Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1949, pp. vii, 216, \$3.50), by E. C. Woodley, takes the province as well as the city into its focus, but the two books have much in common in relating some of the stories, historic and legendary, which hang so thickly about the old capital of New France. Both books would be of interest for pupils' supplementary reading. Mr. Woodley's work contains tales old and new, but all effectively written, with some flair for the romantic.

*Indian Summer* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949, pp. x, 182, \$2.75), by Douglas Leechman, comprising sketches of Indians of the Canadian West, and stories they have told, and *Tales of the Mounted* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949, pp. 182, \$2.75), by William Brockie, are two other possible books for supplementary reading. The first is an appealing little study which seeks to convey, from the author's forty years' experience with Indians as a field worker in anthropology, "some of the flavour of those old times, which glow so softly through the calm autumnal haze of Indian summer." The second contains the memoirs of an ex-constable of the R.C.M.P. They are vividly written and make very clear the varied duties the Mounted Police may be called on to perform. Perhaps they are a bit too vividly written—somewhat near the detective fiction level—for younger readers; but their older brothers may possibly prefer these stories based on real events to the pulp magazines they would probably be reading instead.

*Know Your Canada* (Toronto: N. A. MacEachern and Co., 1949, pp. viii, 95), by M. A. V. McWhorter, based on a series of magazine articles, is a useful brief work of reference for children that deals with such subjects—among a varied list—as Canadian place-names, Canadian ports, Canadian libraries, medical science, painting, sculpture, the peoples of Canada, etc. Another work of reference, in a different field, is *Newfoundland at the Crossroads* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949, pp. xi, 96, \$2.00), containing the speeches and radio addresses of Sir

Gordon Macdonald, governor of Newfoundland, at a critical period in the island's history: from 1946 to 1949. Another work of reference of a still more different kind is the excellent historical map of Kingston prepared by Mr. A. M. Kembar. On sale in Kingston and Toronto, it can also be directly secured from Mr. Kembar at Lakefield Preparatory School, Lakefield, Ontario. This colourfully illustrated and historically accurate map would be a valuable addition to any school library or classroom wall.

We have to note in the informative "Behind the Headlines" series, published jointly by the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, the latest pamphlets to come to hand. They are: *Our Hungry World* by J. F. Booth (vol. VIII, no. 7), *American Policy Abroad* by Blair Bolles (vol. IX, no. 1), *The People's Health* by Brock Chisholm and C. F. Bodsworth (vol. IX, no. 2), and *Atlantic Partnership*, by Eric Harrison (vol. IX, no. 3). These pamphlets, useful for general information, class-room discussion, or debate on social study topics and current problems, may be secured through booksellers or from the publishers at 15 cents a copy or 90 cents subscription for the annual series of seven.

*The Educational Record Quarterly* of the Department of Education of the Province of Quebec, has made its July-September number a special Newfoundland issue, containing an interesting group of articles on Newfoundland and confederation, education in Newfoundland, Newfoundland arts and crafts, and related topics.

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